

ALBUMAZAR: A COMEDY

[1615]

By THOMAS TOMKIS

EDITED BY

HUGH G. DICK

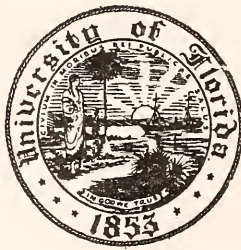
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By THOMAS TOMKIS

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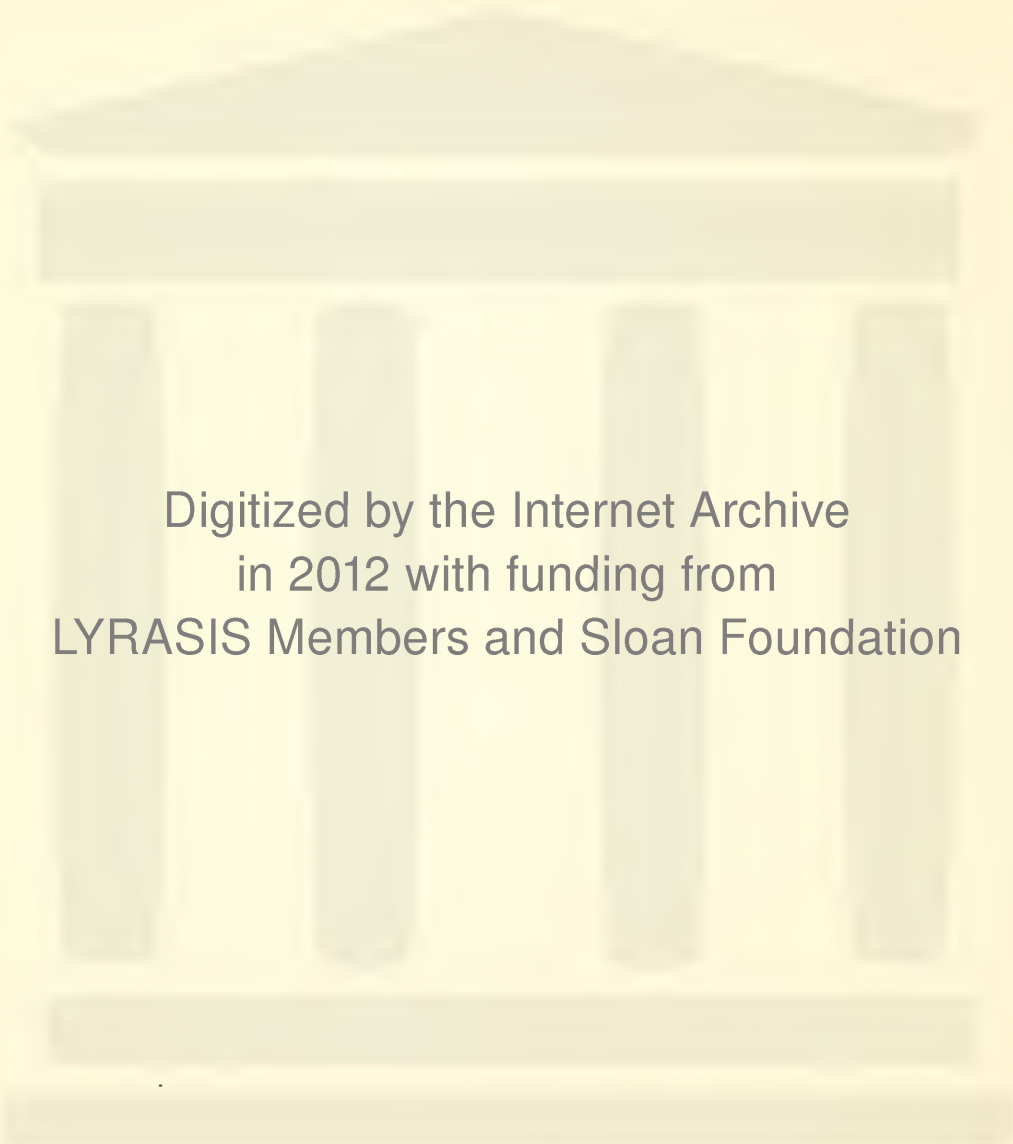
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TO
MY MOTHER AND FATHER

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PREFACE

THIS EDITION of Tomkis' *Albumazar* was originally prepared for inclusion in *Materials for the Study of the Old English Drama*, published at Louvain under the general editorship of Professor Henry de Vocht. In August, 1938, after I had submitted an account of the work, which was then virtually complete, I received a gracious letter of acceptance from Professor de Vocht, and shortly thereafter this edition was announced as one of the forthcoming volumes in the series. Before sending my completed manuscript abroad, I wrote again inquiring about certain details. Neither this nor several later letters, written over a period of a year, ever received a reply. I therefore assumed that illness, which Professor de Vocht had mentioned in his letter, had forced him to abandon his series, at least for a time. Since then, of course, Louvain has been bombed, the University Library destroyed, and Belgium itself forced to capitulate to an enemy which is far from encouraging English studies. Under the circumstances, which make the fate of this monograph petty indeed, I have assumed that the *Materials* will not be issued further.

Though certain alterations have necessarily been made because of my changed plans for this paper's publication, I have retained the basic principles of editions for the *Materials*. Specifically, I have not established an eclectic text but have reprinted the First Quarto verbatim, I have deliberately erred on the side of generosity in the explanatory notes, and I have written a full introduction which has for its leading article, as it were, the chapter on the intellectual background. After this chapter was complete, two major accounts of Renaissance astrology appeared: Lynn Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Volumes V and VI; and Don Cameron Allen's *The Star-Crossed Renaissance*. I have nevertheless allowed my original brief survey to stand unaltered because it is the product of independent research and because, through a somewhat different emphasis, it supplements their findings.

The task of preparing a play like this for the press demands an unconscionable amount of time and effort. Not the least compensation, though it is only a personal one, is the generous aid which

one receives from both friends and strangers, and from these I have had courtesies which I cannot adequately acknowledge. Much of the material bearing upon Tomkis' life was gathered through correspondence from primary sources of information more than six thousand miles away. The handicap of distance has delayed the work considerably, yet so far as this handicap has been overcome, it has been through the prompt and liberal help of my correspondents. In England I have many debts of gratitude, especially to John Tomkys Baker, Esq., formerly mayor of Bilston, Staffs, who put me on the trail of published material about his family's history which would have been inaccessible without his assistance; to the Rev. R. M. B. MacKenzie, for data from the registers of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, and for consulting the city records; to J. J. Nicholls, Esq., for transcripts of Tomkis wills from the Lichfield Consistory; to Norman W. Tildesley, Esq., for transcripts from the registers of St. Peter's, Wolverhampton; to H. H. Hardy, Esq., Headmaster, and Basil Oldham, Esq., Librarian and Archivist, for transcripts from the rolls of Shrewsbury School; to Dr. H. M. Adam, Librarian, for entries from the Admission Book of Trinity College, Cambridge; and to Dr. W. W. Greg, for sending me in advance of publication the relevant proof sheets of *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*. I am deeply grateful, too, for invaluable help from co-workers in this country, especially from Mrs. Mary Anne Whipple, of the University of California Press, for a careful reading of my manuscript; from Dr. Giles Dawson, of the Folger Shakespeare Library, for his forbearance under a stream of inquiries; from Dr. J. Q. Adams, Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library, and the Trustees of Amherst College, for permission to reprint materials in their care, notably the Combes-Folger copy of the First Quarto and the manuscript marginalia in the Ingall copy of the Second Quarto; from my friends Professors M. P. Tilley, Gerald Eades Bentley, George B. Parks, and Lily Bess Campbell, for help on various special problems; and finally from my good friend and former teacher, Professor Edwin Nungezer, of Cornell University, for his many great kindnesses to me.

H.G.D.

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INTRODUCTION

§1. AUTHORSHIP

THE AUTHORSHIP of *Albumazar* has been a matter of considerable dispute, the comedy having been assigned at various times to each of six playwrights, Shakespeare among them. Since the results of this welter of theory and countertheory still appear in standard works of reference, a review of the problem is needed.

The title pages of all the quartos state that the play was presented by the gentlemen of Trinity College, Cambridge, but give no other clue to the writer's identity. Samuel Pegge made the first step toward a solution of the problem as early as 1756, when he reported the discovery of a manuscript in the library of Sir Edward Dering which gave a contemporary account of the entertainment offered King James and his party at the University in the spring of 1614/15. The manuscript says that on Thursday night, March 9, the comedy given was "*Albumazar* the astronomer, in *English*, by Mr. *Tomkis*, *Trinit.*"¹ But because the name Tomkis was uncommon and no person of that name achieved special prominence in the seventeenth century, scholars assumed that the unknown author of the Dering manuscript had written in such haste that he had neglected to overscore the *i* and that Tomkis was accordingly a misspelling of Tomkins. This assumption was strengthened by the fact that a family of Tomkinses was prominent in the literary and musical circles of that time.

A long series of conjectures followed. One writer tentatively put forth the name of Thomas Tomkins the younger (*ca.* 1573–1656), an organist of the Chapel Royal, best known today for his *Songs of 3, 4, 5, and 6 parts* (1622).² Another scholar suggested John Tomkins (*ca.* 1586–1638), Thomas the younger's half-brother, who attended King's College, Cambridge, and who, after serving as organist in his college from 1606 to 1622, advanced to the post of

¹ P. Gemsege [Samuel Pegge], "Comment upon the Old Play *Albumazar*," *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXVI (1756), 224.

² *Notes and Queries* (cited hereafter as *N&Q*), Ser. 3, IX (1866), 178–179. The best account of the composer is that in *Tudor Church Music*, ed. P. E. Buck and others (Oxford, 1923–1929), VIII, ix–xviii. (Unless otherwise stated, all books cited have been published in London.)

organist at St. Paul's.³ Something of a case for his authorship was made out by E. F. Rimbault, who thought he recalled a presentation copy of *Albumazar* signed "Jⁿi Tomkin," and who stressed the organist's friendship with Phineas Fletcher, whose *Sicelides, a Piscatory* (1631), was written for presentation during the King's visit to Cambridge.⁴ But the presentation copy turned out to be a gift to John Tomkins,⁵ and the friendship with Phineas Fletcher was an irrelevancy. Through a further confusion in names, the play was attributed to a second John Tomkins also.⁶ This individual entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1594 and took his B.A. in 1598,⁷ but the case for his being the playwright founders on the same shoal as do the claims for his relatives: in all contemporary references to the writer, including the College records, there is no *n* in the name. An entry in the Senior Bursar's account book cited below settles the writer's name beyond dispute.

Certainly the most ridiculous of the many ascriptions was that produced by Henry Ingall, who insisted that Shakespeare wrote *Albumazar* and who even managed to have a copy of the play exhibited among the Shakespearean relics at the Crystal Palace.⁸ Ingall's enthusiasm was aroused by his discovery of a Second Quarto which had manuscript insertions, corrections, and stage directions in a seventeenth-century hand.⁹ The writing, he said, was Shakespeare's. He supported this contention with a tissue of nonsense, including a fantastic list of parallel passages and such incredible assertions as that Shakespeare lent Jonson the manuscript of *Albumazar* and delayed the production of the play until Jonson had time to write *The Alchemist* in imitation and to enjoy the profits thereof.¹⁰ Nevertheless, Ingall did advance one point

³ *N&Q*, Ser. 3, IX (1866), 179, note.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 259-260.

⁵ See *ibid.*, Ser. 7, IX (1890), 382-383, F. J. Furnivall's statement that the presentation copy read "Ex dono authoris Johannis Tomkin." I have been unable to trace this copy.

⁶ F. G. Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama* (1891), II, 260; followed by A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature* (1899), III, 179-180.

⁷ Ward, *loc. cit.*

⁸ He publicized his view widely. See, for example, *The First Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, p. x; *N&Q*, Ser. 3, IX (1866), 179-180, 302, XII (1867), 135-136; and a chain of letters between 1865 and 1867 to such periodicals as *The London Review* and *The Orchestra*. These last, together with the comment which they aroused, Ingall collected in an album which is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

⁹ See Appendix.

¹⁰ Ingall's Manuscript Collections, p. 15, *et passim*. This volume is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library. I have not troubled to verify Ingall's assertion that he published these arguments in the London newspapers of 1865.

which gained some support, namely that the entries in the account book of the Senior Bursar of Trinity showed that Tomkis was merely the transcriber of the play. The entries in question read:¹¹

Item to M ^r Chappell for sending to Coventry for M ^r Bowyer vpon	
or M ^r and seniors graunting of another Commedie	viijs ^a
Item given M ^r Tomkis for his paines in penning and ordering	
the Englishe Commedie at or M ^{rs} appoyntm[en]t	xx ^{li}

Ingall's contention that the word "penning" meant merely "copying" was roundly denied by William Aldis Wright, Master of Trinity, who first brought this entry to light.¹² But despite Wright's authoritative denial, still another theorist held that this entry showed Tomkis to be simply the copyist of the play, presumably written by some unknown dramatist of Coventry.¹³ The Dering manuscript is a sufficient answer to this charge.¹⁴ Today no competent scholar doubts Tomkis' authorship.

The known facts about the life of Thomas Tomkis are indeed few: his family, the date of his birth, his schooling, and his residence after he left the University have hitherto been unrecorded, and the present account of him, though the result of extended inquiry, is necessarily incomplete. Still, so far as can be determined, there was during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries only one family by the name of Tomkis which might have had a representative in the University.¹⁵ This was an old Staffordshire family whose line of descent has been traced back as far as a Roger Tomkys (*fl.* 1264), an ecclesiastic of Wolverhampton.¹⁶ Toward the end of the fourteenth century a certain John Tomkis married Juliana Leveson, heiress of the family later ennobled as

¹¹ I cite the transcript by G. C. Moore Smith in *Malone Society Collections*, II, ii (1923), 172.

¹² *N&Q*, Ser. 3, XII (1867), 155.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Ser. 7, X (1890), 112-113.

¹⁴ The allusion to Coventry may perhaps be explained by the fact that it lies halfway between Cambridge and Tomkis' home in Wolverhampton. The college authorities may have had an intermediary there (Mr. Bowyers?) make arrangements with the playwright.

¹⁵ The *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1553-1558*, p. 382, under November 24, 1556, refers to a patent making Abingdon, Berks, a free borough and names among the twelve chief burgesses one "Thomas Tonkes." There is, however, no record of his having a son or grandson named Thomas. The same objection holds for other scattered individuals of the same surname: for example, Hugh Tunckes, parson of Peynton-Meysey, Hants, whose will was probated 1580 (S. A. Smith and L. L. Duncan, *Canterbury Wills, 1558-1583* [Index Library, XVIII; 1898], p. 314), or Edward Tomkis, tanner of Bermondsey, Surrey, whose will was proved 1616 (E. Stokes, *Canterbury Wills, 1605-1619* [Index Library, XLIII; 1912], p. 446).

¹⁶ G. T. Lawley, *Bilston in the 17th Century* (Dudley, Staffs, 1920), p. 33.

the Leveson-Gowers.¹⁷ Most of the Tomkises, however, remained simple yeomen.¹⁸ By the beginning of the sixteenth century they were obviously prosperous middle-class folk, the head of the family being one Thomas Tomkis, Assessor for Bilston, Staffs, in 1529.¹⁹ This Thomas had two sons, one of whom, Richard, was the father of the Rev. John Tomkis, who was in turn the playwright's father.

The career of the playwright's father is worthy of brief summary, for it throws light on the son's background. John Tomkis was born in Bilston,²⁰ and was doubtless educated at the excellent grammar school in Wolverhampton.²¹ We have no record of his university training, yet he signed himself Master of Arts and tells us that he was indebted for his "maintenance in studie" to Sir Richard Pype, Lord Mayor of London.²² Though ultimately he became the owner of considerable property, partly through inheritance and partly through marriage, he sought for patrons and, after being aided by Sir Richard Pype, found a sponsor in Thomas Bentham, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.²³ Until 1582 he apparently held some kind of ecclesiastical post in Bilston. During this time he showed his zeal by publishing a number of sermons and translations of theological works, strongly Calvinistic in tone.²⁴ In the meantime he had married Elinor Cresswell, of a well-to-do merchant and land-owning family in the vicinity.²⁵ She bore him four children, successively Isaac, Benjamin, Thomas, and Susanna.

In 1582 his work earned him promotion to the post of Public Preacher in Shrewsbury.²⁶ A stern hater of idolatry in any form,

¹⁷ *Ibid.* See also F. W. Hackwood, *The Annals of Willenhall* (Wolverhampton, 1908), p. 44. According to J. Foster, *Grantees of Arms*, ed. W. H. Rylands (Harleian Society, LXVIII; 1917), II, ii, 336, one Thomas Tomkis of Neachells, Wolverhampton, was granted arms in 1728.

¹⁸ See, for example, the De Banco Rolls, Hilary, 7 Edward IV, in Salt Society Collections, N.S., IV (1901), 153. This invaluable collection will hereafter be referred to as SSC.

¹⁹ The extent of the family's holdings in land can be traced in the feet of fines for Staffordshire, published in SSC, *passim*. The line of descent from Thomas Tomkis is recorded, among other places, in a *pedes finium* of 29 James I (SSC, N. S., X, i [1907], 24).

²⁰ Rupert Simms, *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis* (Lichfield, 1894), p. 460.

²¹ John Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. L. T. Smith (1907-1910), V, 23.

²² Dedicatory epistle to *A most godly and learned Discourse* (1579), as reprinted in *The Wolverhampton Antiquary*, I (1916), 81. The eldest and youngest sons of the Lord Mayor acted as overseers of John Tomkis' will, a connection which helps to identify the playwright in subsequent legal proceedings. The lack of known records does not invalidate John's claim to a degree.

²³ Dedication to *A Most Excellent Sermon of the Lordes Supper* (1577), a translation from Bullinger, as quoted in *Wolverhampton Antiquary*, I, 77.

²⁴ The greater part of his work is translated from Heinrich Bullinger.

²⁵ *Wolverhampton Antiquary*, I, 76.

²⁶ H. Owen and J. B. Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury* (1825), II, 374.

he preached so violently against abuses at the May games that he "was there threatenid, pushed at by certen lewde personns: but in the end it was reformid by the bayliffs."²⁷ Despite this mishap and other evidence of his severity, he was locally regarded as "a famous learned man."²⁸ His success as a provincial clergyman reached a climax with the delivery and subsequently the publication of *A Sermon Preached the 26. day of May. 1584. in S. Maries Church in Shrewesbury: Before the . . . Earle of Leicester, accompanied with the Earle of Essex, the Lorde North, [and] diuers Knightes* (1586).

In 1584 his wife died, and he wrote for his children a "description of the Christian departure of their mother."²⁹ Following an extended illness, the playwright's father died June 23, 1592, and was buried, at his own request, near the body of his wife in St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury.³⁰ Most of his holdings must have been entailed, for his will concerns chiefly his bequests to his three younger children, Isaac, the eldest, having been cared for.³¹

The children fared well. The eldest son, Isaac, who inherited the bulk of the estate and had the reversions of the bequests to the other three children, settled down to the life of a provincial gentleman.³² Susanna, the youngest child and only daughter, having been handsomely dowered by her father, disappears from the records.³³ The second son, Benjamin, born 1577/78,³⁴ was destined for the ministry and inherited his father's notes on divinity.³⁵ He pursued his studies at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. in 1597/98 and his M.A. in 1601.³⁶ In 1605/6 he was ordained deacon at Oxford and priest at London.³⁷

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 392.

²⁸ G. W. Fisher, *Annals of Shrewsbury School*, ed. Rev. J. S. Hill (1899), p. 76, n. 4. See also *The Fifteenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Appendix X, pp. 62-63, for a petition to release a woman from prison, "where she lies upon the bare boards, overpressed with irons, and ready to starve with hungers [*sic*], justly punished for speaking certain idle words of Mr. Tonks the public preacher."

²⁹ *Wolverhampton Antiquary*, I, 74.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³¹ Thomas inherited "100 gold marks, a gold ring in which is engraved 'vp secrettes,' and a *New Testament in English* translated by L. Tompson, both of which were his mothers" (*ibid.*, p. 71).

³² He was listed among the knights, esquires, and gentlemen in the Visitation of 1614 (SSC, V, ii [1885], 339).

³³ *Wolverhampton Antiquary*, I, 72.

³⁴ He was ordained in 1605/6 at the age of twenty-eight (J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* [Cambridge, 1927], sub "Benjamin Tomkis").

³⁵ *Wolverhampton Antiquary*, I, 74.

³⁶ W. R. Ball and J. A. Venn, *Admissions to Trinity College* (1913), II, 204.

³⁷ Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

The youngest son was Thomas, the playwright, who must have been born in either Bilston or Wolverhampton about 1580/81.³⁸ As a child of two he was doubtless taken to Shrewsbury, where he spent his boyhood during his father's tenure as Public Preacher. At all events, in 1591 we find him and his brothers registered as *oppidani* (local residents) in the Shrewsbury School.³⁹

Though he may have attended Shrewsbury for only a year because of his father's death in 1592, we can hardly doubt that his training here must have directed his later interests. At this time the school was at the height of its early glory. Not only was it, as Camden said, "the best filled school in all England,"⁴⁰ but it had already, since its foundation in 1561, produced several notable graduates, ranging from such minor personages as Abraham Fraunce, himself a composer of academic plays,⁴¹ and Arthur Hopton, the scientific writer,⁴² up to the noble figures of Fulke Greville and Philip Sidney.⁴³

But even more to the point than the literary attainments of its graduates is the emphasis which the school put upon the performance of plays. This was perhaps partly due to the vigorous interest in the drama which had long flourished among the citizens and which had made the city one of the chief dramatic centers in the provinces. Records of the performance of plays by the townspeople go back to 1401,⁴⁴ and even after the decline of local productions, troupes from the London theaters constantly visited the city.⁴⁵ Moreover, both town and school were fortunate in having had so enthusiastic a sponsor of plays as the first Headmaster, John Ashton, who devoted himself ardently to writing and producing

³⁸ The parish registers have not survived; but since Thomas' college career parallels Benjamin's, after a three-year interval, we may assume that Thomas was that much the younger.

³⁹ I am indebted for this information to Mr. Hardy, the present Headmaster, and Mr. Oldham, Archivist, who searched the early rolls at my request. A manuscript note in the register by G. W. Fisher, the school's historian, remarks that Isaac, Benjamin, and Thomas were brothers.

⁴⁰ Cited by T. H. Vail Motter, *The School Drama in England* (1929), p. 203.

⁴¹ See Abraham Fraunce, *Victoria*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith, in *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas*, Band XIV (Louvain, 1906), pp. xv-xix.

⁴² Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

⁴³ *A History of Shrewsbury School* (Shrewsbury, 1889), p. 183. Tomkis' attendance at Shrewsbury may give color to the theory of G. C. Moore Smith ("Notes on Some English University Plays," *Modern Language Review* [cited hereafter as *MLR*], III [1907-1908], 147), that Tomkis was alluding in *Lingua*, III, v, to Sidney's banishment and subsequent writing of the *Arcadia*.

⁴⁴ E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), II, 250-255.

⁴⁵ J. T. Murray, *English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642* (1910), I, 9, *et passim*.

liturgical drama. For the citizens he "tooke marvelous great paynes" in staging such dramas of his own as *Passion of Christ* and *Julian—the Apostate*;⁴⁶ while for his students he instituted a rule whereby "Euerie thursdaie the Schollers of the first forme before they goo to plaie, shall for exercise declame and plaie one act of a comedie. . . ."⁴⁷ As a result of Ashton's ordinance, Shrewsbury boys were notable for their dramatic talents.⁴⁸

Ultimately, after leaving Shrewsbury, Tomkis followed his brother Benjamin to Trinity College, Cambridge, probably in 1597.⁴⁹ Two years later, April 20, 1599, he was admitted Scholar.⁵⁰ In 1600/01 he earned his B.A. at the age of twenty.⁵¹ After a lapse of two years, on October 2, 1602, he became a Minor Fellow; and again two years after this, he proceeded to his degree as Master of Arts.⁵² Whether he ever became Major Fellow in his college is doubtful: the chances are, he did not.⁵³ But whatever his exact status, Tomkis seemingly found life at Trinity agreeable, for his name remains on the College books until as late as 1610.⁵⁴ Perhaps one of the charms which Trinity held for him was the zest which the members of the college had for plays.

The playwright's career after he left the University in 1610 presents a difficult problem. Records survive of at least eight Thomas Tomkises living in Staffordshire between this date and 1637, but, for one reason or another, seven of them may be ruled out of consideration.⁵⁵ The remaining Thomas Tomkis is generally described

⁴⁶ Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴⁷ *A History of Shrewsbury School*, p. 50.

⁴⁸ Fraunce, *op. cit.*, p. xix.

⁴⁹ *Dictionary of National Biography* (cited hereafter as *DNB*) sub "Thomas Tomkis." This sketch, written by Sidney Lee from data furnished by William Aldis Wright, is not altogether accurate. The matriculation date is necessarily conjectural because of the gap in the Cambridge records for the last decade of the sixteenth century.

⁵⁰ Entry in the unpublished College Admission Book, kindly transcribed for me by H. M. Adam, Librarian of Trinity.

⁵¹ Ball and Venn, *op. cit.*, II, 209.

⁵² *Ibid.*, and College Admission Book.

⁵³ William Aldis Wright, onetime Master of the College, twice said that he did (*DNB*; *N&Q*, Ser. 3, XII [1897], 155); but Ball and Venn do not record the fact, and the present Librarian assures me that there is no record of Tomkis' admission to this rank.

⁵⁴ *DNB*; confirmed by the present Librarian.

⁵⁵ The wills of six persons of this name listed in W. P. W. Phillimore, *Calendar of Wills . . . in the Consistory Court of Lichfield and Coventry* (Index Library, VII; 1902), pp. 364–366, 501, show that with one exception they had trades—shoemaking, etc.—hardly compatible with the playwright's education, and their literacy is open to some question since their wills have marks rather than signatures. The exception, Thomas Tomkis of Wednesbury, whose will was probated in January, 1615/16, was a yeoman with a tidy estate, yet a legacy to his brother John excludes him because the playwright had no brother of that name. A seventh Thomas Tomkis was the son born to the dramatist's eldest brother Isaac.

in the records as "gentleman" (the dramatist gained the right to that title upon taking his degrees) or as "Mr. Thomas Tomkis"; whereas, with the exception of a yeoman who is called "Mr. Thomas Tomkis of Willenhall" and who is demonstrably not the playwright,⁵⁶ the others never have that term of respect applied to them.

The playwright made little mark in the world after leaving college. In 1610 he gained an inheritance from his kinsman Thomas Wrottesley, a younger son of one of the leading families in Wolverhampton.⁵⁷ This bequest may have been behind Tomkis' decision to leave Trinity in that year. At all events, in 1611 we find him concerned in the purchase of various lands in the vicinity of Wolverhampton;⁵⁸ and for the next ten years he figures in the local records as a lawyer of some standing.⁵⁹ In 1619, for example, he joined Samuel Pype, armiger,⁶⁰ and Edward Banbury, gentleman, in a successful claim for land to the value of £340;⁶¹ and in 1621 he and Richard Brent, armiger, obtained more lands valued at £480.⁶² The extent of his dealings and the people with whom he associated show that he must have been respectably prosperous.

During the last years of his life he seems to have taken a marked interest in the affairs of the Wolverhampton Grammar School, an old foundation controlled by the Merchant Taylors' Company of London. In 1629 the Company appointed him and Clement Mosse

⁵⁶ An entry in the register of St. Peter's, Wolverhampton, under September 16, 1606, while the dramatist was still at Cambridge, records the birth of a daughter to the yeoman. Pertinent entries from this register were kindly transcribed for me by Norman W. Tildesley, Councilor.

⁵⁷ SSC, N.S., VI, ii (1903), 283. The legatees included Wrottesley's brother-in-law Samuel Pype and the testator's kinsmen Lord Dudley, William Gatacre, and "Mr. Thomas Tomkys."

⁵⁸ A feet of fines under 8 James I awarding property in Stafford and elsewhere to the value of £40 to "Wm. Bowyer, Gentleman," and "Thomas Tomkes, gentleman" (SSC, N. S., III [1900], 47). Could "Wm. Bowyer" have been the same person as the intermediary named in the Senior Bursar's account book in connection with the arrangements for producing *Albumazar*?

⁵⁹ The feet of fines concerning him begin in 1611 and end in 1621. He is mentioned once in 1611, once in 1613, four times in 1615, and once each in the years 1616, 1617, 1619, and 1621. Each time he acquired further holdings in land (SSC, N. S., III [1900], 47, IV [1901], 25, 31, 66, 67, 71, 73, 85, VI, i [1903], 20, VII [1904], 215). The *Wolverhampton Parish Registers, 1537-1660* (Staffordshire Parish Register Society, 1932), I, xviii, state that he was a lawyer by profession.

⁶⁰ His connection with Pype and Banbury was noted in the will of Thomas Wrottesley. This Samuel Pype, a son of the Lord Mayor, had acted as one of the overseers of the Rev. John Tomkis' will.

⁶¹ SSC, IV (1901), 25.

⁶² *Ibid.*, VII (1904), 215.

(the Company's clerk) to keep court at the manor of Rushock, which had been bequeathed to the school.⁶³ Tomkis' duty was mainly to show his fellow townsmen how well the manor was being administered to the school's profit. In 1631 the Merchant Taylors gave the headmaster a bonus of £5 for "his paines taken in the teaching and instructing of the schollars" on the recommendation of two local clergymen and "Thomas Tompkys gentleman and Inhabitant of that Towne."⁶⁴ In this year and again in 1633 Tomkis paid out small sums for the Company in connection with the "friendly meetings" which were held at the general examinations of the students.⁶⁵

The story of Tomkis' life is brought to a close with the burial record in the register of St. Peter's, Wolverhampton, under date of September 30, 1634. The playwright was about fifty-four when he died. An entry in the same register for 1633 recording the burial of "Margaret wife of Mr Thomas Tomkys" would seem to show that the dramatist had married.

Unfortunately, the details of Tomkis' career throw little light on his writing. A few points, however, do stand out. The playwright sprang from yeoman stock, but more particularly from a father who had lifted himself above his family's station. Doubtless the father influenced the boy's career. His father's zeal for learning continued in him, though in a less rigorous guise; and his father's Puritanism may well have stood behind what anti-astrological satire there is in *Albumazar*. Again, we may certainly believe that Tomkis' training at Shrewsbury accounted for his interest in the drama, though this was encouraged by the eagerness of Trinity students for plays. Finally, the meager details of the man's career suggest an easygoing nature which was willing to accept a quiet, undistinguished place in life. His academic career suggests ability without brilliance; his return to the placidities of Wolverhampton proves his lack of literary ambition.

⁶³ G. P. Mander, *The History of the Wolverhampton Grammar School* (Wolverhampton, 1913), pp. 321-322.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 285-286.

§2. WORKS

Both the dramas for which Tomkis is remembered are university plays. The earlier is a morality-like comedy entitled *Lingua: Or The Combat of the Tongue, And the five Senses for Superiority* (1607), often, though wrongly, assigned to Anthony Brewer.¹ The date of composition has been much disputed. Isaac Reed placed it before the death of Elizabeth,² and this view gained support against the denial of Fleay, who believed that the comedy was written early in 1603 and performed in March of that year when the heads of the universities greeted James I on his way to London.³ But, as F. S. Boas has shown, *Lingua* contains apparent echoes of *Macbeth*, so that probably Tomkis did not compose his work until after the production of Shakespeare's play in 1606.⁴ No specific account of *Lingua*'s production survives, although there is a recurring legend of the seventeenth century that Oliver Cromwell once played the part of Tactus.⁵

Lingua was one of the most popular academic plays of its century, at least among readers. It passed through six editions before the Restoration⁶ and was translated into both German and Dutch.⁷ Part of its popularity was due to the taste for allegory which flourished in the university drama.⁸ But *Lingua* excels the other works of its kind by rising above its clumsy form. In spite of its

¹ At the suggestion of P. A. Daniel, F. G. Fleay investigated the similarities between *Lingua* and *Albumazar* and concluded that Tomkis (or, as he thought, John Tomkins) wrote both ("Annals of Plays Acted at Cambridge during Shakespeare's Lifetime," *Shakespeareana*, II [1885], 121-123). Shortly thereafter, F. J. Furnivall reported finding in British Museum Addit. MSS 27632 a list of books and papers written by Sir John Harington, who said that *Lingua* was the work of "Thomas Tomkis of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge" (*N&Q*, Ser. 7, IX [1890], 382).

² Robert Dodsley, *A Select Collection of Old Plays*, ed. Isaac Reed, Octavius Gilchrist, and [John Payne Collier] (1825), (cited hereafter as Collier's Dodsley), V, 102.

³ *Biographical Chronicle*, II, 262. Attacked by A. W. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, II, 152; and by G. C. Moore Smith in *MLR*, III (1907-1908), 146.

⁴ *MLR*, IV (1908-1909), 518.

⁵ The myth apparently originated with Simon Miller, the publisher of the 1657 edition, and is universally discounted.

⁶ In 1607, 1618 (?), 1622, 1632, 1657; there was one undated edition.

⁷ The German version (1613) was by Johannes Rhenanus, and the Dutch (1648) by Lambert van den Bosch.

⁸ The type was established by the Oxford play *Bellum Grammaticale*, which portrays a civil war between the parts of speech. This was followed by Zouch's *Fallacy*, later revised as *The Sophister*, and by Barten Holyday's *Technogamia: or The Marriages of the Arts*. At Cambridge such Latin dramas as *Microcosmus*, *Stoicus Vapulans*, and *Fuscus* represent the genre (G. C. Moore Smith, *College Plays Performed in the University of Cambridge* [Cambridge, 1923], p. 8).

complexity, the play is a genuine *jeu d'esprit*. Tomkis had read widely and delighted in adapting, indeed generally burlesquing, a wide variety of styles.⁹ The parodies were well pointed for a university audience, which might be expected to catch the imitations, and the dialogue as a whole is full of verve and wit.

The popularity of *Lingua* led at Cambridge to similar plays, several of which have been attributed to Tomkis himself. In his edition of Dodsley's *Old Plays* Isaac Reed called attention to a point which Winstanley had already observed, that the anonymous play entitled *Pathomachia: or, the Battell of Affections, Shadowed by a Faigned Siedge of the Citie Pathopolis* (1630) was written "upon the same plan, and very much in the same style" as *Lingua*.¹⁰ Apart from conjectural attributions of *Pathomachia* to John Marston and to Henry More, no further evidence has been produced since Reed's day, though G. C. Moore Smith strongly subscribed to the Winstanley-Reed theory. He too argued on the basis of similarity of design and treatment, on references in the later play to *Lingua*, and on ridicule of Tom Coryate in both plays.¹¹ But such arguments do not constitute proof of identical authorship, because they do not exclude the possibility of deliberate imitation. Even more to the point, we have contemporary evidence that *Pathomachia* was published in 1630 as a memorial to the author;¹² but, as I have shown above, Tomkis' death did not occur until 1634.

Other ascriptions to Tomkis include a series of brief dialogues or "shows": *Locus, Corpus, etc.* (ca. 1604/5), an unpublished fragment which I have not seen;¹³ *Bande, Cuffe and Ruffe* (1615);¹⁴ and *Worke for Cutlers* (1615).¹⁵ All these are in the tradition of the

⁹ According to J. H. Hanford ("The Debate Element in the Elizabethan Drama," *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge* [Cambridge, Mass., 1913], p. 455), the main theme of the play was probably taken from Giorgio Alione's *Comedia del l'Omo e de' soi Cinque Sentimenti* (1521) in the Asti dialect.

Literary echoes from *Macbeth* are given by F. S. Boas in *MLR*, IV (1908-1909), 517-520; from *The Faerie Queene*, Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine*, and Davies' *Nosce Teipsum* by M. P. Tilley in *Modern Language Notes*, XLII (1927), 150-157, 293-299, XLIV (1929), 36-39; and from *Arcadia*, *Julius Caesar*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Four PP*, *Club Law*, and the *Parnassus Plays* by Moore Smith in *MLR*, III (1907-1908), 146-149.

¹⁰ Collier's Dodsley, V, 101.

¹¹ *MLR*, III, 149-150.

¹² The title page of *Pathomachia* and the preface by F. C. [Francis Constable?], sig. A3^v, refer to the "deceased Author."

¹³ Moore Smith, *College Plays*, Cambridge, p. 97.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.* In *Worke for Cutlers*, ed. A. F. Sieveking (1904), pp. 17 ff., the editor has a valiant try at numbering this "show" among the 220 lost plays of Thomas Heywood.

dramatic allegory, and the last two closely resemble each other, but their authorship remains obscure. Until some external evidence is produced, Tomkis' claim to them is no better than that of the unknown author of *Pathomachia*.

As for *Albumazar* itself, Tomkis' indebtedness to Giambattista della Porta's *Lo Astrologo* (Venice, 1606) has long been known.¹⁶ No one, however, has troubled to analyze the precise relationship between the two comedies. This is understandable because Tomkis' work seems little more than a close adaptation of the Italian play. The same plot, characters, and, with a few exceptions, the same scenes appear in both plays, while most of the speeches in *Albumazar* are free renderings of the dialogue in *Lo Astrologo*. The parallels are so close and the divergences so few as to prove that Tomkis must have written with the Italian text before him.

Nevertheless, *Albumazar* is not altogether a slavish version of the original. Apart from such minor alterations as renaming several of the *dramatis personae* and introducing numerous topical references,¹⁷ Tomkis showed his skill as an adapter by several significant changes. First is the contraction of many of Porta's scenes. The Italian writer resorted to elaborate word plays and extensive repetition. At times one feels that he lost the thread of his plot in the tangles of a given scene. His elaborate jests halt the action, and when he comes to resume the play, as it were, he has to recall for the audience necessary points which have already been made. In Tomkis' version much of the paronomasia happily drops out and, with it, the need for repetition.

Tomkis' sense of economy led him to dispense altogether with some of Porta's material. *Lo Astrologo*, III, viii, for example, is a scene which completes an already elaborate *burla* and carries a practical joke to its ultimate limits. Tomkis omits this scene quite without loss of comic effect. As a general result of such changes, *Albumazar* is far less episodic in its movement than is *Lo Astrologo*.

Indeed, his alterations show that Tomkis was conscious of the need for a swift pace in this kind of comedy. His most elaborate

¹⁶ Robert Dodsley (*A Select Collection of Old English Plays*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt [1874-1876] [cited hereafter as Hazlitt's Dodsley], XI, 30), credits Samuel Pegge with the discovery of Tomkis' source, but Pegge's article in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XXVI (1756), 223-225, does not touch this problem. The earliest statement on the subject known to me is that in *The Public Advertiser*, November 13, 1773.

¹⁷ These are discussed in Explanatory Notes, pp. 162-163, *et passim*.

changes come in the last act, which he rearranges by opening with the astrologer's betrayal by his confederates, thus foreshadowing the approaching climax in Scene v, when Pandolfo's plans also go awry. By this means suspense is maintained, the climax comes late in the act, and the falling action is brief. Porta, on the other hand, places the climax early (V, ii), uses the betrayal of Albumazar as part of the falling action, and carries on for three leisurely scenes after the main source of suspense has disappeared.

Though Tomkis' dialogue follows that in *Lo Astrologo* now closely, now freely, we can sometimes detect a reason for his way of translating. He had, in the first place, the problem of bowdlerizing the excessive salaciousness of the original. To be sure, *Albumazar* does contain some mild stock jests about cuckoldom, but *Lo Astrologo*, in contrast, is full of boisterous pornography. The whole of II, i, for example, is little more than an elaborate preparation for the nauseating *double entendre* at the end. Nor did Porta fail to exploit the possibilities for gross humor in Pandolfo's senile passion for a young girl. The servant Cricca owns a store of proverbs more sensible than savory. All this Tomkis abandons. The license permitted on the Italian stage had clearly no place in an English university play.

In the second place, Tomkis adopted new targets for his satire. *Lo Astrologo* is full of sharp ridicule of astrologers and their pretensions. Tomkis shifts this to more general satire on charlatans and the gullibility of their victims. For example, Porta has one of his characters say, and I translate literally:

What is more important, he [Pandolfo] believes in astrology and necromancy. What more need I say? For even if he were Solomon, believing in this folly would suffice to make him the greatest ass in the world. Indeed you may wonder how far human curiosity—or better, asininity—will go.¹⁸

In handling the same passage Tomkis makes no more than the flat statement:

And which concerne's vs most, he [Pandolfo] giues firme credit
To Necromancy and Astrologie.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Lo Astrologo*, I, i, in *Le Commedie*, ed. V. Spampanato (Bari, 1911), II, 307.

¹⁹ *Albumazar*, ll. 102–103. References are to the First Quarto of the play, cited by title only. Figures refer to lines as numbered in the reproduced text, pp. 71–153.

Elsewhere Tomkis inserts saving additions to the satire,²⁰ or even praises "that sacred skill,/That in the Starres reade all our actions" when unsullied by cheaters or cunning men.²¹

Furthermore, Tomkis takes down one target of satire and sets up another. In *Lo Astrologo* the characters with whom the reader is to sympathize have much to say about the abuse of parental authority, a theme straight out of Latin comedy. But in *Albumazar* Tomkis sends the shafts of his wit at social climbing. Granted that this theme had no particular novelty and granted that in *Albumazar* it is stated in fantastic terms, the fact remains that Tomkis was dealing with a problem of some reality in Jacobean England, so that his satire becomes cogent.

But the greatest of Tomkis' improvements were in the handling of character. In *Lo Astrologo* all the characters are stock figures of the *commedia erudita* and nothing more: Porta's imagination did not get beyond a nice ingenuity in plot construction. Tomkis' characters, on the other hand, though hardly memorable creations, have more vitality than their originals. Porta's Vignarolo is a blundering oaf to be laughed at. Tomkis' Trincalo, though a befuddled and overdrawn clown, does have a touch of pathos which makes for high comedy. Through the horseplay and the abuse which surround him we can see his glimmering hopes. Tomkis bestows a vivid imagination on him: Trincalo *sees* himself as the gentleman he would like to be, so that his wishes keep triumphing over his good sense. But never for long. Toward the end of the play, beaten and humiliated, he keeps a kind of dignity, especially when face to face with his master, whose folly is the more marked beside Trincalo's sanity. The universal testimony of those who have seen the play is that Trincalo is the most amusing figure in it.²²

Something of the same mellowing takes place with the character of Armellina, the servant girl beloved by Trincalo. Tomkis makes her less of a hoyden and less brutal and calculating than her Italian counterpart. Her spirit and wit soften her feminine clear-headedness. Her triumphs over Trincalo in his addleheaded moods have little of the savagery of the Italian original.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, ll. 354-356, ironically praises the astrologer's skill in horary astrology, but says nothing of the genethliacal branch.

²¹ *Ibid.*, ll. 562-563.

²² See below, pp. 54-56.

Yet in some ways the character most improved in the English version is Sulpitia, Pandolfo's daughter, who loves Lelio although she is affianced to his father. In the portrayal of this girl, who with a stout and merry heart goes out to attack the forces which oppose her, there are several skillful touches. In II, ix, by contrast to the parallel character of Flavia, who can only bewail woman's forced obedience, Sulpitia rises to a bold statement of rebellion.

Why? should I twine mine armes to cables, and sigh my soule to Aire?
Sit vp all night like a Watching Candle, and distill my braines through
my eye-lids? your brother loues mee, and I loue your brother; and where
these two consent, I would faine see a third could hinder vs.²³

Tomkis' interest in Sulpitia is further shown by his creation of an entire scene (IV, xiii) which has no other purpose than to develop and display her character. Here she attacks her lover for his fumbling attempts to untie the knot which binds them all. Her scorn and anger make her a charming spitfire, but never a shrew. Her lover Lelio shows his understanding of her character when he says, "'Tis salt I loue; not sugar."²⁴ Though Sulpitia hardly grows to the stature of a living woman (few playwrights have ever brought stock juveniles alive), she is carefully imagined and does represent a marked advance over Porta's Sulpizia, who is indistinguishable, except in name, from Artemisia (Flavia).

Whatever improvements Tomkis made upon *Lo Astrologo*, his comedy remains an adaptation: the basic design of his work stems from Porta's play. The observance of the unities, for instance, is common to both. In *Lo Astrologo* the events are confined to the city of Naples, whereas in *Albumazar* they occur in adjacent parts of London. So too with the unity of time. In both plays the action occurs within the limits of the so-called natural day, though in the adaptation the time elements are loosely handled. The events of the first part of the plot—i.e., up to the transformation in III, ii—follow each other without appreciable pause, consuming perhaps three hours at most. The supposed transformation takes less than four hours (l. 967), and the events between this and the climax require slightly more than two (l. 1293). From the climax to the end there is no delay, one event following hard upon another, until

²³ *Albumazar*, ll. 1114–1118. ²⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 2315.

the final capitulation of Pandolfo, which bears out Sulpitia's earlier statement, "This night we shall enioy our loues" (l. 1145).

In a sense, the chief weakness of *Albumazar* is its closeness to its source. Its pageant-like quality, which critics have noticed²⁵ and which clearly concerned Garrick when he came to revise the play,²⁶ is due in part to the same quality in *Lo Astrologo*. The rigidity of the plot springs straight from the tradition of the *commedia erudita* and with it the uninspired use of type characters.

Lingua is evidence that Tomkis had wit and a knack for racy dialogue, while the elements already discussed in *Albumazar* show that he had an eye for character. We can only conclude that it was a pity that circumstances or his own inclination never forced him to write an original play which would have realized his promising gifts. Even so, by the standards of the university stage, Tomkis remains a distinguished academic playwright.

²⁵ Jonson, *The Alchemist*, Yale Studies in English, No. 17, ed. C. M. Hathaway (New Haven, 1903), p. 85.

²⁶ See below, pp. 59-61.

§3. INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND: THE WAR AGAINST JUDICIAL ASTROLOGY

Both Porta's *Lo Astrologo* and Tomkis' *Albumazar* belong to the anti-astrological literature of the Renaissance, though in varying degrees. Curiously, Porta, who was even more eminent for his scientific work than for his plays, was considered as among the leading dealers in the occult. His *Magiae Naturalis* (1588) and his *Phytognomonica* (1588) are among the classics of *curiosa*, while his *De Furtivis Literarum Notis, Vulgo de Ziferis* (1563) was much sought after by those interested in suspect learning.¹ In addition, he acted as leader of the academy of the *Secreti*, which met at his home to discuss and disseminate hidden lore in the natural sciences. So shady was his reputation for these activities that Pope Paul III attempted to suppress the academy through a papal bull which forbade Porta to deal with the occult.² But whatever Porta's interest in the esoteric, his *Lo Astrologo* is a slashing attack on astrology itself as well as on the pretenders to it. Throughout his play the pseudo science is ridiculed with heavy satirical strokes.

In contrast, *Albumazar* is far less severe. Tomkis omits some of the satire and softens the remainder. He also points his attack upon astrological pretenders and says very little of the pseudo science itself. At one point he even inserts praise for "that sacred skill,/That in the Starres reades all our actions."³ Yet despite Tomkis' softer tone, both plays share, as a common motivation for the intrigue, the superstitious credulity of those who accept an astrologer's fantastic claims. That *Albumazar* dabbles also in alchemy, metoposcopy, and necromancy is, as I hope to show, a realistic touch in both plays.⁴

If one were to accept the usual view that during the Renaissance astrology was universally regarded with deep respect, one would have to believe that the work of Porta and Tomkis was altogether

¹ See, for example, the allusion in Jonson's "The New Cry," *Epigrams*, XCII, in *Works*, ed. Wm. Gifford and F. Cunningham (1875), VIII, 195: "They [the statesmen] all get Porta, for the sundry ways/To write in cipher." The suspicion hanging over cryptography was due in large measure to Trithemius' *Steganographia* (Lyons, 1531), in which magical and spirit names are employed as an element of the ciphers.

² *Dizionario Biografico Universale* (Florence, 1840), IV, 647-648.

³ *Albumazar*, ll. 562-563.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 103, 440-445, and 1303.

out of the currents of the time.⁵ This of course is not so: the war against astrology was no new thing in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. On the contrary, works like *Albumazar* are the product of a long development in the history of ideas, a history so complicated and so filled with unexplored detail that a full treatment of it would be out of place here. I shall attempt merely to highlight briefly the main religious, political, social, and literary backgrounds, and to show that Tomkis in no way happened on an unwelcome object for satire, but rather chose one which he thought would guarantee his comedy a sympathetic hearing. Since the question here concerns Tomkis' rather than Porta's choice of a subject, the English background will be particularly stressed.

The chief source of confusion in virtually all modern discussions of the place of astrology at this time has arisen from the failure to define terms and to distinguish between the various kinds of belief. During the Renaissance the two basic divisions of the pseudo science were natural and judicial astrology. According to the doctrines of the former, the heavenly bodies exercised certain powers upon the earth, but not all these were what we should call occult. To believe that the sun gives heat and the moon affects tides was to accept the teachings of natural astrology, though before the conception of the macro-microcosm was destroyed most believers went further than this. Judicial astrology, on the other hand, concerned not merely the influence of the stars but also the prognostication of events or tendencies through knowledge gained by this study. In other words, judicial astrology was a form of divination.

⁵ The conventional view would seem to be that of Henry Osborne Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1920), II, 326: "As is well known, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought a marked revival of those beliefs and reasonings concerning the influence of the stars upon human affairs." So far as England is concerned, this generalization is hardly tenable. However, supporting evidence for the prevalent belief in astrology has been presented by Hardin Craig, *The Enchanted Glass* (New York, 1936), pp. 33-42; Hugh de Lacy, "Astrology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser," *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XXXIII (October, 1934), 520-543; Sanford V. Larkey, "Astrology and Politics in the First Years of Elizabeth's Reign," *Bull. Inst. Hist. Med.*, III (1935), 171-186; and Carroll Camden, Jr., "Elizabethan Almanacs and Prognostications," *Library*, Ser. 4, XII (June and September, 1931), 83-108, 194-207. Evidences of skepticism have been generally overlooked except by Carroll Camden, Jr., "Astrology in Shakespeare's Day," *Isis*, XIX (April, 1933), 26-44, a brief consideration of the attacks upon astrology; and Moriz Sondheim, "Shakespeare and the Astrology of His Time," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II (January, 1939), 243-259. Sondheim distinguishes between the various kinds of astrological belief and confirms the views which I had expressed in my unpublished dissertation, "The Doctrines of the Old Astronomy in the Literature of the English Renaissance" (Cornell University, 1937), chap. vi.

John Ferne, a writer on heraldry who could pretend to nothing except conventional ideas on the subject, dutifully expresses the accepted categories.

The third of the Mathematics is Astronomy or Astrologie, and yet, they which [*sic*] in themselves seeme also to be different. For, Astronomy (as I haue been taught) comprehendeth the reuolution of the Heauens, the rising, going downe, and motion of Starres. But Astrologie is deuided into two members, the one is called naturall, and the other superstitious [i.e., judicial]. That part which is naturall, noteth the stations of times, the courses of the Moone and Starres, but that which is called superstitious . . . teacheth, by the iudicials of the Starres and heauenly bodies, to giue a prediction of seasons of the yeere, of natiuities, and the manners of men: of fates, and fortunes future, to kingdomes, prouinces, and townes, to the states and conditions of people.⁶

Since the basic doctrines of the two branches overlapped, it is not always easy to draw a sharp line of demarcation between them. Yet to men of the time the dichotomy was apparent. For example, in *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1583) the Puritan Philip Stubbes finds time to write "a worde or two of a certeine kinde of curious people, and vaine glorious, called astronomers, and astrologers."⁷ Their whole science, Stubbes says:

standeth vpon nothing else, but mere coniectures, supposals, likelihoods, ghesses, probabilities, obseruations of times and seasons, coniunctions of signes, starres, and planets, with their aspects and occurrents, and the like, & not vpon anie certeine ground, knowledge, or truth either of the word of God, or of natural reason.⁸

Stubbes continues by admitting the stars' influence upon the seasons and grants that a certain amount of astrological knowledge is needed for phlebotomy; but he objects strenuously to allowing the planets domination over the parts of man's body, the months, or even the days.⁹ He concludes by advising the almanac-makers to point out the change of seasons, the dates of movable feasts, and such matters of exact knowledge, but to leave off altogether their attempts to probe into the future.¹⁰ In short, he accepts natural but not judicial astrology. Or, to take a more exalted example,

⁶ John Ferne, *The Blazon of Gentry* (1586), pp. 48–49.

⁷ Ed. F. J. Furnivall (New Shakespeare Society, 1882), Pt. II, p. 55.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57. ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Francis Bacon was reasonably consistent in denying that judicial astrology as it was known to his age was a sound practice.¹¹ In fact, he even went to the length of drawing up elaborate proposals for putting it on an empirical basis.¹² Yet Bacon nowhere denies that the stars do influence human action and goes even further to grant, for instance, that "comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things."¹³ Thus for Bacon the basic assumption of natural astrology—the reality of macrocosmic influences—was beyond dispute; whereas the divinatory branch had almost no value.

During the sixteenth century in England judicial astrology occupied a crumbling position. To be sure, the great mass of people, as well as many educated men, retained varying degrees of faith in it, but the body of dissent constantly grew more strong. Judicial astrologers and their absurd pretensions became a favorite butt for the satirists, and scornful allusions to "figure-flingers" and "star-gazers" thread the whole literature of the Renaissance. Attacks on astrology range from burlesque almanacs and prognostications to serious, extended refutations of occult theory. Between these extremes, are the many slighting references to any kind of divination which writers threw out in passing.

Behind this skeptical attitude stood the edicts of Church and State. The Roman Catholic Church had long set its face against judicial astrology, though many eminent figures within the Church retained their faith in the pseudo science. The position of the Church was thus curiously dualistic. As a matter of policy it could not allow the astrologer to usurp the priest's place as intermediary between God and man. If the stars were either causes or simply

¹¹ In his youth Bacon's dislike of Aristotelianism seems to have led him at times to grant occult philosophy more truth than he did in later days. In his private notes, for example, he remarks of a conversation, "Discoursing scornfully of the philosophy of the Graecians with some better respect to the Ægyptians, Persians, Caldes." (Mary Sturt, *Francis Bacon* [1932], p. 8.) But his mature opinion is represented in *The Advancement of Learning*, Bk. I, in Bacon, *Works*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, and Heath (1857-1874), VI, 127: "The sciences themselves which have had better intelligence and confederacy with the imagination of man than his reason, are three in number; Astrology, Natural Magic, and Alchemy; of which sciences nevertheless the ends or pretences are noble. . . . But the derivations and prosecutions to these ends, both in the theories and in the practises, are full of error and vanity; which the great professors themselves have sought to veil over and conceal by enigmatical writings, and referring themselves to auricular traditions, and such other devices to save the credit of impostures."

¹² See especially *De Augmentis*, Bk. II, in Bacon, *Works*, VIII, 487 ff.

¹³ "Of Vicissitude of Things," *Essays*, *ibid.*, XII, 275; cf. also VIII, 491, VI, 333.

signs of fore-ordered events, then he who could interpret the heavenly signs could reveal the will of God. Moreover, too great a reliance upon the stars had led in the fourth and fifth centuries to the establishment of several heretical sects, notably the Priscillianists, who worshiped the stars as divine. The Church had done its best to extirpate these heresies, executing Priscillian himself and declaring against his creed in the Council of Toledo,¹⁴ but in spite of these efforts the beliefs persisted. Within the Church itself, on the other hand, a certain degree of belief at last came to be permissible. The objections of the early Fathers had been climaxed by Augustine's smashing denunciation,¹⁵ but as Arabian science began to filter through Europe in the twelfth century, we find such men as Roger Bacon, Robert Grosseteste, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas giving more or less credence to astrological prediction.¹⁶ Yet the pendulum was not through swinging. The late fifteenth century in Italy saw Augustine's crusade renewed in the reformers gathered around Savonarola. The chief work of this group, and indeed the most elaborate of all attacks on the superstition, was Pico della Mirandola's *Disputationes adversus Astrologiam Divinatricem* (Bologna, 1495), which became a manual for nearly all later writers against the art and a book which must have found an audience among the English Humanists, including Sir Thomas More.¹⁷ An analysis of the work is needless here: it is enough to say

¹⁴ "Priscillianus," *A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace (1887), pp. 470-478; and Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era* (New York, 1929), I, 380-381. For later papal bulls, notably those of 1586 and 1631, and for Catholic writing against judicial astrology as a Manichean heresy, see Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, trans. Dom. Ernest Graf, XXIX (1938), 36-37.

¹⁵ In *De Civitate Dei*, Bk. V. This was readily available to English readers in the translation of J. Healy (1610).

¹⁶ See Theodore Wedel, *The Medieval Attitude toward Astrology*, Yale Studies in English, No. 60 (New Haven, 1920), chaps. i-ii, especially pp. 40-41. According to Thorndike (*op. cit.*, I, 445, 577-592, 608-610, 670-675), Grosseteste and Albertus valued astrology highly, while Aquinas was extremely cautious in his praise.

¹⁷ More, whose interest in Pico was manifested by his translation, *The Lyfe of Johan Picus Erle of Myrandula* (1510?), had only scorn for astrologers. In his *Utopia*, ed. J. H. Lupton (1895), p. 186, we are told of the people in that land of reasonableness: "As for the amities and dissentions of the planettes, and all that deceytfull diuination by the starres, they neuer asmuch as dreamed thereof." Again, in a verse upon the deceased Elizabeth of York, whose death coincided with the very time when her horoscope had promised her all the blessings of life, More points out the disparity between the prediction and the fact. He also composed two satirical epigrams ridiculing the fallibility of the stargazers. See J. H. Marsden, *Philomorus* (1842), pp. 233-235. More's dislike reappears in different terms in the later Humanist, Roger Ascham, who says in his *Scholemaster*, ed. E. Arber (1932), p. 57: "In deede S. Chrysostome, that noble and eloquent Doctor, in a sermon *contra fatum*, and the curious serching of natiuities, doth wiselie saie, that ignorance therein, is better than knowledge."

that Pico reopened the question of judicial astrology for the Renaissance on so heroic a scale that for some he ended the war in a single stroke.¹⁸ Moreover, the essence of Pico's work was made available almost at once in the vulgar tongue by Savonarola's *Tractato contra li Astrologi* (Florence, 1495?). Savonarola announced that he wished to do for the common people what Pico had done for the learned, and proceeded to attack judicial astrology as condemned by Christian doctrine, disproved by natural philosophy, and shattered by its own inconsistent teachings.¹⁹

After the Reformation the Protestants faced the same problem which had troubled the Roman Church: the pseudo science was officially condemned upon theological grounds, yet many clergymen both defended and practiced the art. Prevailing Protestant opinion, nevertheless, remained so hostile to astrology that those who upheld it were forced into a defensive tone in their writings. The Arminians, because of their doctrine of free will, could not accept the view that human character and action are ordered, however generally, by divine prescience; while the Calvinists, for all their determinism, stood bitterly opposed to the art. In fact, Calvin himself was the author of a notable attack on judicial astrology in a sermon Englished by Godred Gylby and entitled *An Admonicion against Astrology iudiciall and other Curiosities, that raigne now in the World* (1561).²⁰ As might be expected, Calvin's objections center not so much upon the principles of astrology as upon the impiety of any attempt to seek out God's plans. His

¹⁸ An account of Pico's work and its effect appears in Benedetto Soldati, *La Poesia Astrologica*, Biblioteca Storica del Rinascimento, No. 3 (Florence, 1906), chap. iv, *et passim*. Evidence of the weight of Pico's attack is revealed by the number of replies which it called forth, among them one by Gulielmus Parronus, *De Astrorum vi fatali hominum*, addressed to Henry VII of England (see *Bibliographica*, I [1895], 330-332).

¹⁹ *Tractato*, sig. A3^v. Savonarola's popularization was translated into Latin by F. T. Boninsignio (Florence, 1581) and thus given international currency. On the Continent the line of attack passes from Pico and Savonarola through Thomas Erastus, who translated the latter's work into German (1557), to such later writers as Jacques Molland, author of *Cartel aux Judiciaires et Celoteurs Astrologues* (Lyons, 1585), and the Spanish Jesuit, Benedictus Pererius, author of *Valentinus adversus Fallaces et Superstitiosas Artes* (Ingolstadt, 1591). Pererius' treatise was ultimately Englished by Percy Enderbie, *The Astrologer Anatomiz'd* (1661). Less theological in tone than any of these, Sixtus ab Hemminga's *De Incertitudine et vanitate Astrologica* (Antwerp, 1583) is constantly alluded to by English writers on both sides of the debate.

²⁰ Translated from Calvin's *Admonitio adversus Astrologiam* (Geneva, 1549). The translator Gylby confesses that to him the "iudicialls of Astrology" seem mere "childish plaies," and adds that, though he is but a child himself, he makes bold to attack this abuse as he had "learned at the mouth of maister Caluine and red in his bokes" (*An Admonicion*, sig. A1^v).

assaults on the art were unremitting,²¹ and his hostility did much to set Protestant opinion in England.

A roll call of the Anglican bishops proves the hostility of the English Church. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, for example, alluded contemptuously to such "superstitious crafts" of prediction as "lots, astrology, divination, chattering of birds, physiognomy, and looking of men's hands."²² John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, condemned those "that by observation of the stars took upon them to speak of things to come by certain superstitious and devilish incantations."²³ Though he admired the student of the heavens who could trace the course of the stars, he assailed him "who taketh upon him to give judgment and censure of these motions . . . what they prognosticate and destiny unto the creatures of the earth."²⁴ In an *Exposition upon the Prophet Aggeus* James Pilkington, the eminent Bishop of Durham, wrote at length against astrology, concluding that "it is faithless superstition to teach or believe that either at the birth or after we be ruled by stars."²⁵ Finally John Jewel, Elizabethan Bishop of Salisbury, stirred by various contemporary prognostications about the second coming of Christ and the end of the world, asked leave "to deal with these wizards," whom he accused of trying to teach "repentance and amendment of life . . . by lies and fables."²⁶ Thus the great figures of the Anglican Church were almost to a man vigorous opponents of judicial astrology.

The lesser clergy were equally zealous in their attacks. Roger Hutchinson, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, warned laymen against the use of judicial astrology in *The Image of God* (1550). Like Calvin, he presents in forthright style the leading theological arguments and ends by admitting the importance of stellar influences upon the mass of men, but calls the attempt to probe the future both impious and futile.²⁷ Thus even while he

²¹ Calvin employed great vehemence of language to distinguish between true astrology (i.e., astronomy) and what he calls "ce bastarde" or "astrologia adulterina." See especially his *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, and E. Reuss (Berlin, 1869-1900), XXXIII, 423, XXXVII, 123-124; and *An Admonicion*, sig. B4^v.

²² *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, ed. J. E. Cox (Parker Society, 1846), p. 131.

²³ *Early Writings*, ed. S. Carr (Parker Society, 1843), p. 328.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

²⁵ *Works*, ed. J. Scholefield (Parker Society, 1842), pp. 17-18.

²⁶ *Works: Second Portion*, ed. J. Ayre (Parker Society, 1847), pp. 872-873.

²⁷ *Works*, ed. J. Bruce (Parker Society, 1842), pp. 77-89.

accepts natural astrology, he buffets the judicial branch. William Perkins, one of the most popular and widely read preachers of Elizabeth's reign, after dabbling in astrology as a youth,²⁸ turned against it and became one of its most notable opponents, devoting the first of his many publications, *Foure Great Lyers* (1585), to burlesquing and attacking astrological prognosticators,²⁹ a theme which he returned to again and again.³⁰ Andrew Willet, whose *Hexapla in Genesin* (1605) was a well-known Biblical commentary of its day,³¹ collected the chief Biblical and Patristic sayings on the impiety of divination and addressed himself to an account of the "vanitie of iudiciall Astrologie."³² George Carleton, Jacobean Bishop of Llandaff and later of Chichester, whom Anthony à Wood called "a seuere Caluinist,"³³ composed one of the heartiest onslaughts against the superstition in his ΑΣΤΡΟΛΟΓΟΜΑΝΙΑ: *The Madnesse of Astrologers* (1624).³⁴ Shortly before Tomkis wrote *Albumazar*, there appeared an interesting clerical discourse on the linkage between astrology and black magic in James Mason's *The Anatomie of Sorcerie* (1612). Mason has surprisingly little to say of judicial astrology except in the specialized branch known as horary, according to the principles of which the figure-caster could answer specific questions about such immediate problems as lost articles; but this Mason includes among the "vaine, friuolous and superstitious artes . . . abominable vnto the Lord."³⁵

As these selected examples show—and they could be multiplied many times over—judicial astrology was in bad odor with the English Church, and above all with the Puritan element. However much they were forced to grant about the influence of the stars, since by 1614/15 only the most advanced thinkers had

²⁸ Louis B. Wright, "William Perkins: Elizabethan Apostle of 'Practical Divinity,'" *Huntington Library Quarterly*, III (January, 1940), 173.

²⁹ This tract was published anonymously, but see my article in *The Library*, Ser. 4, XIX (December, 1938), 311–314, for proof of Perkins' authorship.

³⁰ As in *A Golden Chaine* (1591), *An Exposition of the Symbole or Creed* (1595), *A Commentarie upon the Epistle to the Galatians* (1604), and *A Discourse Of the Damned Art of Witchcraft*, for all which see Perkins, *Workes*, I (1612), 43–44, 291, II (1613), 286–287, and III (1618), 620–623.

³¹ For the importance of Willet and other such writers, see Arnold Williams, "Commentaries on Genesis as a Basis for Hexaemeral Material in the Literature of the Late Renaissance," *Studies in Philology*, XXXIV (April, 1937), 191–208.

³² *Hexapla in Genesin* (1605), pp. 10–12.

³³ *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. P. Bliss (1813–1820), II, 423.

³⁴ Though this was not published until 1624, it had been written twenty years earlier according to the dedication by Carleton's son-in-law, Thomas Vicars, *ibid.*, sig. A3^r.

³⁵ *The Anatomie of Sorcerie* (1612), p. 85.

come to question the established cosmological tenet of the macro-microcosm, the clergy were agreed that this and all other methods of divination were wicked. Couple with this the fact that Tomkis' father was an ardent Calvinist, and we can see that the playwright's own background would have encouraged in him some bias against judicial astrologers.

Equally effective in fostering an attitude of distrust toward judicial astrology were the various proclamations and statutes directed against sorcery and "fond and fantastical Prophecies." These actions by the State were a cause rather than a result of skeptical distrust in prognostications of any kind. The issue was, in fact, one of immediate practicality. The dangers to the highly centralized state such as the Tudors aimed at are manifold, but none more pernicious than rumors about the person of the ruler. This, together with the remaining faith in astrological prediction among the masses, made the spread of prognostications a matter of great concern to the Tudor-Stuart rulers.

The political dangers resulting from uncontrolled prophecy were generally recognized and led in 1541/42 to the Act against sorcery, which was declared a felony without benefit of clergy.³⁶ It is clear that the term "sorcery" was extended to include astrological prediction.³⁷ As a result, published prophecies became more veiled as political questions were ignored, and the almanac-makers confined themselves more and more to weather forecasts, at which they were notoriously inaccurate.

The Act of 1541/42 opened a legal debate on the problem. In 1549 "fond and fantastical Prophecies" became a subject of discussion in Parliament,³⁸ and an Act directed against them was issued shortly thereafter.³⁹ The punishment for the first offense was a fine of £10 and a year's imprisonment, to be followed for second offenders with life imprisonment and loss of property. This was repealed under Mary, but in 1554 the Commons discussed, though without effect, a Bill against "seditious Rumours, News,

³⁶ E. F. Bosanquet, *English Printed Almanacks and Prognostications*, Bibliographical Society, Illustrated Monographs, No. 17 (1917), p. 5.

³⁷ Bosanquet (*ibid.*), remarks in connection with this Act that "Andrew Borde, the first Englishman to issue a printed Almanack and Prognostication [1541], recognizes in his preface that prognosticating was against the laws of both God and Realm."

³⁸ *Journal of the House of Commons*, I, 13 (3 Edward VI, December 18, 1549).

³⁹ *Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 114-115 (3-4 Edward VI, 1549-50, chap. xv).

and Tales.”⁴⁰ Under Elizabeth, Parliament began as early as 1559 to discuss the revival of the Act of 1549, this time under the heading of “Sorcery, Witchcrafts, and Prophecies of Badges and Arms.”⁴¹ After long discussion the Bill went through early in 1563.⁴² This remained in force throughout Elizabeth’s reign; and upon the accession of James it was continued, though in far sterner guise, with the stringent law against witchcraft passed in 1604.⁴³

The result of these various Acts was in the main satisfactory. To be sure, the number of prognostications increased as more almanacs were published,⁴⁴ but the authors preferred to deal with generalities about the weather; and while the law seems seldom to have been invoked against astrologers *per se*, it at least exercised a silent censorship over too daring prognosticators. But even more important, the legal action thus taken forced the astrologers, now irretrievably linked with sorcerers of all kinds, into a grievous position. Hereafter they had to justify themselves against the hostility of Church and State, both of which, more as a matter of policy than from skeptical motives, combined to discredit their art.

A few examples will show how the State operated. In 1540, even before the first Act, the Privy Council examined a certain John Heron “of his practice of astronomy and necromancy,” and ordered him to “write his practices, the names of such as employed him, and of all whom he knows to practise the craft.”⁴⁵ Having acknowledged his folly, he was released upon his recognizance not to use “any manner of necromancy, astronomy, calculations, or other experiments.”⁴⁶ Dr. John Dee and two companions were

⁴⁰ *Journal of the House of Commons*, I, 38 (1–2 Philip and Mary, November 22, 1554).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59 (1 Elizabeth, April 4, 1558).

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 69 (5 Elizabeth, February 8, 11, and March 12, 16, and 18, 1562). See also *Journals of the House of Lords*, I, 591, *et passim*; and *Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 445–446 (5 Elizabeth, 1562–63, chap. xv).

⁴³ George Lyman Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), pp. 307 ff.

⁴⁴ Hugh de Lacy, *op. cit.*, pp. 520–521, computes that from 1557 to 1600 the number of astrological items published every year comprised about 5 per cent of all the books issued. This high percentage is made possible by the inclusion of almanacs as astrological works, a dubious statistical procedure. Anyone who bought what was for him a calendar and a handbook of convenient miscellaneous information acquired willy-nilly a prognostication as well; but in the light of the vague prophecies and the numberless jokes about the weather forecasts in the almanacs, we can hardly accept de Lacy’s figures as evidence of a widespread acceptance of astrological prophecy.

⁴⁵ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, XVI (1895), 5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

arrested in 1555 for having "calculated the nativities of the King, Queen, and Princess Elizabeth."⁴⁷ In 1561 Francis Coxe, a thoroughgoing rogue, was pilloried with eight other men for "sorcery," and, further to indicate his reformation, he published *A Short Treatise Declaringe the Detestable Wickednesse of Magical Sciences* (1561).⁴⁸ Though this repentance pamphlet is concerned chiefly with the sin of using black magic, Coxe does not exempt "the curious parte of Astrologie," which draws the stargazer beyond natural astrology to "wade further in those sciences of prediction."⁴⁹ A few years before Tomkis entered Cambridge, one Fletcher, of Gonville and Caius colleges, a Master of Arts supposedly expert in horary astrology, had fallen into the hands of the law for his practice and was let off only after an elaborate examination in which he swore that he had cast no personal horoscope and had calculated nothing about the fortunes of the Queen and State.⁵⁰

No work better illustrates the problem created by governmental action against the prognosticators than William Covell's *Polimanteia*, or, *The meanes lawfull and vnlawfull, to iudge of the fall of a common-wealth, against the friuolous coniectures of this age* (1595). As the title implies, the late years of the sixteenth century saw much undercover political prophecy in view of Elizabeth's advancing age and the subsequent question of her successor. Covell was in a dilemma. On the one hand, he honestly confesses to a measure of astrological belief. He feels, for example, that the stars may sometimes give us dreams of things to come;⁵¹ he confutes the theory that the stars have no power on things below;⁵² he regards comets as warnings of disaster;⁵³ and he admits that the astrological data which deal with the effect of great conjunctions upon "the chaunge and fall of a Common-wealth. . . . seeme to bee more

⁴⁷ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-1580*, ed. R. Lemon, p. 67. The literary repercussions of this have been studied by Lily B. Campbell, "Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Elianor Cobham His Wife in the *Mirror for Magistrates*," *Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 5 (April, 1934), 119-155.

⁴⁸ For a fuller account of Coxe see Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, pp. 257-259; and the same scholar's *The Date of the "Pedler's Prophecie"*, *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XVI (1934), 97-118. Five years after his public retraction, according to Bosanquet (*op. cit.*, p. 39), Coxe had the temerity to return to his former ways by publishing another prognostication.

⁴⁹ *A Short Treatise* (1561), sig. A6^v.

⁵⁰ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1591-1594*, ed. M. A. E. Green, pp. 316-318.

⁵¹ *Polimanteia* (1595), sigs. K3^v-K4^v.

⁵² *Ibid.*, sig. L3^r.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, sig. H3^{r-v}.

certaine and better grounded then any other particular predictions of the stars.”⁵⁴ On the other hand, Covell announces his enlistment in the army of the anti-astrologians. By his own profession, amply supported by his borrowings, his work is based upon the Earl of Northampton’s *A Defensative against the poyson of supposed Prophecies* (1583), the strongest of all sixteenth-century English treatises against the superstition.⁵⁵ Covell devotes pages to a summary of all the conventional theological arguments about divination, which he regards as the devil’s trick to entice men into evil.⁵⁶ He laughs at the practice of casting horoscopes for individuals as “Meere toies and vaine fables,”⁵⁷ and adds that “He that yeeldeth himselfe to beleue Pronostications, giueth himselfe the I. of Ianuarie to be a foole al the yeare after.”⁵⁸ At one point, running counter to his own admission, he refers to the attempt to cast horoscopes for kingdoms as “a thing meerely ridiculous.”⁵⁹ Confusing and inconsistent as the book is, it does have a measure of logic behind it. Covell ostensibly wishes to urge a qualified belief in judicial astrology purified of the abuses of the astrologers;⁶⁰ but what his numerous self-contradictions really indicate is his desire to establish a safe method of calculating the fortunes to befall a kingdom and yet stay clear of the law by volunteering on the side of the anti-astrologians.

Two more anti-astrological works which had their source chiefly in the political bearings of the superstition need discussion because both may well have motivated in part Tomkis’ choice of a subject. The earlier of these was *A Defensative against the poyson of supposed Prophecies* (1583) by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, who served as Chancellor of the University in Tomkis’ time.⁶¹

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, sig. I1r. But Covell qualifies even this statement by saying that the stars give no absolute decrees, a reservation which will be found in almost every textbook of astrology from Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos* (2d century, A.D.) onward.

⁵⁵ See Covell’s acknowledgment of indebtedness, *op. cit.*, sig. ()3r-v.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, sigs. B1r-C2r. This is again a conventional point.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. G3v.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, sigs. G4v-H1r.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, sigs. F1v-F2r.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, sigs. G2r-G3r.

⁶¹ Northampton’s motives in writing *A Defensative* have long been suspect—needlessly, to my mind. Ever since the unflattering account in Horace Walpole’s *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, ed. Th. Park (1806), II, 148-167, where Northampton’s suspected Catholicism, his flattery of James I, and his connection with the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury were bitterly displayed, he has been regarded as one of the least savory characters of his time. Internal evidence would support the view that he was a Catholic, but the problem cannot be investigated here. In any case, his faith

Since Northampton's treatise is typical of the extended, all-inclusive attacks on astrology—John Chamber's *The Vanity of Judicial Astrology* (1601) is perhaps even better known—we may pause to examine it briefly. The title page sets the tone of the work and explains the Earl's motive for writing against prophecies,

which being grounded, either vpon the warrant and Authority of Old painted Bookes, Expositions of Dreames, Oracles, Reuelations, Inuocations of damned Spirits, Iudicials of Astrologie, or any other kinde of pretended knowledge whatsoeuer, *De futuris contingentibus*; haue beene causes of great disorder in the Common-wealth, especially among the simple and vnlearned people.⁶²

Northampton's hatred of the art on the grounds that it raises civil disturbance is shown throughout. In his dedicatory epistle to Sir Francis Walsingham he writes:

The grounds against which I haue bent my battery, are perilous to the peace and quiet of a Commonwealth; the persons which professe them, are for the most part *Infesti regibus*, and either practise to open wounds of disgrace and ielousie, which were first inflicted by their glozing tongues, or like Surgions and Sextones, thriue and waxe more wealthy, by the dearth and plague of the common people.⁶³

Elsewhere he points out the dangers in that curiosity which leads men to pry further into

the future causes and affaires of the Commonwealth, then it pleaseth God to discover⁶⁴ [and especially into the affairs of the ruler]. And the reason why this fountaine is more pestilent then any of the rest: is cheefly, because it pierceth . . . neerer to the quicke of man[']s delight.⁶⁵

But political conditions were not the only ones to disturb the

would have encouraged him to oppose the superstition. Whatever his misdeeds, he was "reputed the most learned nobleman of his time" (*DNB*, X, 32). Moreover, though his father, the Earl of Surrey, was a devout believer in judicial astrology and had his sons' horoscopes cast (*The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*, ed. J. Yeowell [1897], pp. xvi–xvii), we have the report of Northampton's own secretary that he gave absolutely no credence to such matters (Thomas Fuller, *The History of the University of Cambridge*, ed. James Nichols [1840], p. 225). His sincerity in writing his *Defensative* can therefore hardly be questioned.

⁶² The edition of 1620 is cited throughout, and the heavy use of italics in the original is disregarded. An excellent analysis of this work is available in William Oldys, *The British Librarian*, I (January, 1737), 331 ff.

⁶³ *Defensative*, sig. A7^r.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 18b.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Earl, who goes on to discuss the religious aspects of divination. Prediction is impious:

Beside, if God should alwayes vtter and reueale his Mysteries, by ordinary course of Art, he were no God (saith Plato:) or if men were made acquainted with the secrets of his prouidence by the gift of nature, they might claime the cheefe prerogatiue of high Diuinity. . . .⁶⁶

and, as a marginal note has it, "God cannot endure to haue any competitors."⁶⁷ Furthermore, the good Christian has always before him the example of "the peeuish Priscillianists," the sect which worshiped the stars and whose heresy persists in later times with such people as Girolamo Cardano, who had recklessly published Christ's horoscope.⁶⁸

Northampton regards all reliance upon the stars, which neither "figure [nor] fore-tell the course of any future accident,"⁶⁹ as unmitigated folly.

Wise men diuine not of the likelihood or vnlikelihood of warre or peace, by casting vp a figure in a paper leafe; but by reuoluing states and humors of our neighbours about, not by planets, but by preparation. . . . This is the perfect scope of wisdom, others are but shels of error, without any kernell of effect or benefit.⁷⁰

Northampton's refutation of astrological doctrine is extended and weighty. He denies the existence of occult influences,⁷¹ calls the apparatus of astrology a fiction without basis in fact,⁷² asks how we can believe that the pure, perfect, and changeless heavens can be thought to have different characteristics which shift as the planets alter position and how these heavens can work evil on mankind.⁷³ He argues, too, that the astrologers can agree neither in theory nor in results,⁷⁴ that prognostications are not only wrong in fact but wildly impossible in theory,⁷⁵ and concludes his treatise with a list of lying predictions which have resulted in political ills.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 5b.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 7b.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 108a. Cardano, the famous Italian authority upon all kinds of natural magic, aided in discrediting astrological prediction in England quite against his will. When in England, he cast the horoscope of Edward VI and foretold that the young king would prosper in spite of troubled periods at about the ages of twenty-three, thirty-four, and fifty-five; but when Edward died at the age of sixteen, Cardano, in all sincerity, made the mistake of publishing a rectified horoscope, which proclaimed his error everywhere (Henry Morley, *The Life of Girolamo Cardano* [1854], II, 138).

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, fol. 13b.

⁷² *Ibid.*, fol. 50b.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 63b.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. 26b-27a.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, fol. 58b.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 50b ff.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 64b-65b.

In sum, Northampton attempted for England what Pico had attempted for the Continent, an exposé of the superstition so complete as to be unanswerable; but even if he failed in this high aim, as he was bound to fail, his work remains one of the landmarks in the war against astrology.

The second of the volumes with major political implications, King James's *Daemonologie in Forme of a Dialogue* (1597), though far less extensive than Northampton's treatise, must have been even more important to their contemporaries. The King's little book, which has bolstered his reputation as the wisest fool in Christendom because of his faith in the existence of witches, shows him opposed to the equally vicious, if less sensational, superstition of judicial astrology. The reason for his enlightenment on the one matter, if not on the other, lies, I believe, in the influence of his tutor, the learned George Buchanan. The latter's *De Sphaera* (1584), the only British counterpart to the numerous Continental poems on the universe, devotes most of its Book V to the differences between the true and the superstitious knowledge of the heavens. The true astronomer, Buchanan tells us, explains natural causes through the use of the reason and thereby attains an elevation of mind and a freedom from fear.⁷⁶ The unlearned, on the other hand, regard stellar phenomena as portents, which thus arouse universal unrest.⁷⁷ Nor can the astrologers escape blame:

Nec minor accessit pestis, scrutator Olympi
Assyrius taciti, cum Lunae obscurior orbis
Palluit, objectis aut Solis imago tenebris
Abstraxit lucemque orbi, rebusque colorem:
Stultitia vulgique & credulitate sequaci
Utitur Astrologus, magna atque horrenda minatur,
Insanamque famen, populantemque oppida pestem,
Et bella, & quicquid bellorum insania cladis
Invehit, humanis irataque numina rebus.⁷⁸

Equally reprehensible is the tendency for men to impute every sin and crime to the stars and thus excuse themselves.⁷⁹ As Edmund in *King Lear* puts it:

This is the excellent foppery of the world, that, when we are sick in

⁷⁶ *Poemata quae extant* (Amsterdam, 1687), pp. 468–474.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 470. ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 469. ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

fortune,—often the surfeit of our own behaviour,—we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars: as if we were villains by necessity, fools by heavenly compulsion; knaves, thieves, and treachers, by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence; and all that we are evil in, by a divine thrusting on: an admirable evasion of whoremaster man, to lay his goatish disposition to the charge of a star!⁸⁰

Such views as these were perhaps in James's mind when he diverged from his discussion of witchcraft to touch upon the problem of how the learned are seduced in "the Divels schoole" through "*Astrologie judiciar*,"⁸¹ a matter which he confesses could demand the misspending of a day.⁸² As James saw it, the great danger in judicial astrology is that it draws men "vpon the slipperie and vncertaine scale of curiositie," until, lawful practices having failed, they are enticed "to satisfie their restles mindes, even to seeke to that black and vnlawfull science of *Magie*."⁸³ But James went even further to mark the sharp, if conventional, distinction between astrology and astronomy.⁸⁴

There are two thinges which the learned haue obserued from the beginning, in the science of the Heauenlie Creatures . . . The one is their

⁸⁰ *King Lear*, I, ii, 129-140 (Shakespeare, *Works*, ed. William J. Clark and William A. Wright [Globe ed.; 1934], p. 903). This text of Shakespeare is cited throughout.

⁸¹ *Daemonologie*, Bodley Head Quartos, No. 9, ed. G. B. Harrison (1924), p. 10.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁸⁴ M. C. Bradbrook, *The School of Night* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 70-71, voices a common view when she writes: "The difficulty in sifting the astronomer from the astrologer, and philosophy from necromancy was the task of the seventeenth century rather than the sixteenth." The statement is misleading, for the distinctions between astrologer and astronomer had long been recognized and are the commonplaces of every discussion of the sciences, including medieval encyclopedias and grammar-school texts of astronomy. In the twelfth century, for example, John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, Bk. II, chap. xix (partly translated by Joseph B. Pike, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers* [Minneapolis, 1938], pp. 93-99), marks out clearly the differences between astrology and astronomy. Gregory Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica* (Basle, 1508), which was addressed to children (sig. R7^r), treats astrology and astronomy as two related but distinct sciences; and though Reisch attempts a defense of astrology against the attack of Augustine and Sebastian (sigs. x7^v-x8^r), he elsewhere joins in the chorus against the abuses of it—"impietas sub vmbra astrologia latitat" (sigs. y3^v-y4^r). To trace the history of this commonplace would require a chapter in itself: these examples merely show its acceptance long before the seventeenth century. In this later period there was no cause for debate, as a glance at any contemporary dictionary will show. John Bullokar in *An English Expositor* (1616), for instance, defines astronomy as "An art that teacheth the knowledge of the course of the planets & stars"; whereas under "astrology" one finds the curt cross reference, "See Diuination." The question therefore was not one of "sifting the astronomer from the astrologer," but of deciding as to the value of astrology, first of the judicial branch and later of the natural. The free interchange of the words "astronomy" and "astrology" does not prove that the concepts were confused.

course and ordinary motiones, which for that cause is called *Astronomia* . . . And this arte indeed is one of the members of the *Mathematicques*, & not onelie lawful, but most necessarie and commendable. The other is called *Astrologia* . . . which is to say, the word, and preaching of the starres: Which is deuided in two partes: The first by knowing thereby the powers of simples, and sickenneses, the course of the seasons and the weather, being ruled by their influence; which part depending vpon the former, although it be not of it selfe a parte of *Mathematicques*: yet it is not vnlawfull, being moderatlie vsed, suppose not so necessarie and commendable as the former. The second part is to truste so much to their influences, as thereby to fore-tell what common-weales shall florish or decay: what persones shall be fortunate or vnfortunate: what side shall winne in anie battell: What man shal obtaine victorie at singular combat: What way, and of what age shall men die: What horses shall winne at matche-running: and diuerse such like incredible things, wherein *Cardanus*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, and diuerse others haue more curiouslie then profitably written at large.⁸⁵

Like so many of his contemporaries, then, the King accepted the theological and legal objections to judicial astrology, but advanced, too, a little beyond them in suggesting that the doctrines of natural astrology should be "moderatlie vsed." At all events, since James's treatise was doubtless known to Tomkis, the playwright must have been confident that the theme of Porta's comedy would please the royal mind.

A further force which militated against the astrologers during the Renaissance was the increase in popular education under the Tudors. Education of course does not always stifle credulity, but the bare fact that men became literate gave them the ability to see the follies of the printed prognostications with their constant errors about the weather and their random hints at matters of public concern. Moreover, the act of reading and writing—the astrologers notoriously paraded the difficulty of their computations and the extent of their learning—would appear genuinely impressive to an illiterate; but as soon as these skills became general, the astrologers

⁸⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 12-13. An amusing sidelight is given by F. G. Marcham, "James I of England and the 'Little Beagle' Letters," *Persecution and Liberty: Essays in Honor of George Lincoln Burr* (New York, 1931), p. 321. Professor Marcham notes that the King was fond of using astrological imagery for humor when writing to Robert Cecil and quotes from one of his letters: "The effects then of this eclipse for this year are very many and wondrous. It shall make diuers noblemen at the court loathe their wives, and wish they were better married."

were forced to resort to further abracadabra to maintain their prestige and so fell into the trap which the State had prepared for dabblers in black magic and sorcery. The number of occult sciences which they professed and the recondite jargon which they flaunted were constantly derided. Albumazar himself, we note, disclaims any thought of working through "Theourgia, Artenosoria, Pharmacia, [and] . . . Necro-puro-geo-hydro-cheiro-coscinomancy";⁸⁶ but, having stunned his listeners with this imposing nonsense, he claims to be ready to change one man into another by what he calls the "Art Prestigiatorie."⁸⁷ In the same vein, Richard Brathwait could somewhat later characterize the common almanac-maker:

Hee scrapes acquaintance of a fortunate gentleman, one *Euphumemismus*, whom he erroneously takes for brother of that feined knight *Parismus*. . . . Horizons, Hemisphaeres, Horoscopes, Apogaeum's, Hypogaeum's, Perigaeum's, Astrolabes, Cycles, Epicycles are his usual dialect; yet I am perswaded they may bee something to *eate*, for ought he knowes.⁸⁸

But pretentious jargon was not the worst fault of the astrologers their mode of life was an offense to the public. Dr. John Dee is a famous example. Most of the obloquy poured upon him, though he was certainly the noblest of his profession, came in part from popular suspicion of his labors with the alchemist Kelley in raising spirits.⁸⁹ As is well known, his house at Mortlake was pillaged by an angry mob, and his library despoiled. Similarly, the later astrologer-magician John Lambe was lynched by a playhouse mob, a fitting end to a life which had included fifteen years in prison for the practice of "execrable arts."⁹⁰

If it be objected that Dee and Lambe were hated for sorcery rather than astrology, we should note that the two pseudo sciences were commonly linked. As such different writers as Coxe and King James indicate in passages already quoted, the use of astrology drew men into the use of sorcery: the two went together. The literature of the time illustrates this abundantly. In *The Mirror for Magistrates* we learn that King Bladud came to harm from know-

⁸⁶ *Albumazar*, ll. 776-778.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, l. 780.

⁸⁸ *Whimzies* (1631), p. 2.

⁸⁹ See Dee's defense of his "philosophical studies and exercises" in *A Letter, Containing a most briefe Discourse Apologeticall* (1599), especially sig. B3^r.

⁹⁰ *DNB*, sub "Lambe."

ing too much of "Magicke Mathematicall,"⁹¹ and the poet warns against such arts, calling them "false and vayne," though confessing that he speaks only of their abuses when they become involved with black magic.⁹² Again, in the same work we find the story of Elianor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, who wickedly consulted Roger Bolingbroke and Thomas Southwell.

These twoo Chapleins, were they that vndertooke
To cast and calke, the kinges constellation
And then to iudge by depe dyuination.
Of thinges to come, and who should next succede
To Englandes crowne, al this was true in deede.⁹³

This was a main part of her crime "of witchcraft and Sorcery, [for which she] suffred open penance."⁹⁴ John Stow in his *Annals* refers casually to "*Simon Pembroke* dwelling in Southwark, being a figure-flinger, and vehemently suspected to be a Coniurer."⁹⁵ In Marlowe's *Faustus* we find a famous example, for Marlowe's hero is equally absorbed in astrology and sorcery: indeed his conjurations necessarily consist partly of

Figures of euery adiunct to the heauens,
And characters of signes and erring starres.⁹⁶

Donne, in his "Elegy XI: The Bracelet," shows how firmly the mental pattern of astrologer-sorcerer was fixed when he writes:

Or let mee creepe to some dread Conjuror,
That with phantastique scheames fils full much paper;
Which hath divided heaven in tenements,⁹⁷
And with whores, theeves, and murderers stuff his rents,
So full, that though hee passe them all in sinne,
He leaves himselfe no roome to enter in.⁹⁸

In Jonson's *Alchemist* Subtle claims to work by metoposcopy and chiromancy,⁹⁹ while in *The Devil Is an Asse* the gull Fitzdotterel

⁹¹ *The Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Joseph Haslewood (1815), Vol. I, p. 119, stanza 20.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 121, stanza 25.

⁹³ *Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. L. B. Campbell (Cambridge, 1938), p. 435, ll. 101-105.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

⁹⁵ *Annals* (1631), p. 684.

⁹⁶ *Faustus*, I, 245-246, in Marlowe, *Works*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke (Oxford, 1929), p. 153.

⁹⁷ I.e., the houses or "inns" of the zodiac.

⁹⁸ Donne, *Works*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson (Oxford, 1912), Vol. I, p. 98, ll. 59-64.

⁹⁹ *The Alchemist*, I, iii, ll. 43-54, in Jonson, *Works*, ed. C. H. Herford and P. Simpson (Oxford, 1925-1937), V, 310.

gives us a vivid picture of the devices used by contemporary astrologers, who are named:

I, they doe now, name *Bretnor*, as before
 They talk'd of *Gresham*, and of Doctor *Fore-man*,
Francklin, and *Fiske*, and *Sauory* (he was in too)
 But there's not one of these, that euer could
 Yet shew a man the *Diuell*, in true sort.
 They haue their christalls, I doe know, and rings,
 And virgin parchment, and their dead-mens skulls,
 Their rauens wings, their lights, and *pentacles*,
 With *characters*; I ha' seene all these.¹⁰⁰

Jonson, who was in a position to know, having amused himself by posing as an astrologer,¹⁰¹ reveals the tricks on which the astrologers now had to rely. These devices were themselves a confession of failure and helped discredit the art which they were supposed to maintain.

But worst of all was the character of the astrologers themselves. For men in touch with the future, they were a ragged, rascally lot, as the satirists never failed to remark. The account of his own life by that gifted opportunist William Lilly introduces us to a notable set of rogues who professed astrology during the early years of the seventeenth century: Simon Forman, purveyor of aphrodisiacs to the Countess of Essex;¹⁰² one Evans, a Welsh clergyman who had fled his cure of souls to live in drunken squalor in Gunpowder Alley while writing prognostications based upon two books, Haly's *De Iudiciis Astrorum* and Origanus' *Ephemerides*;¹⁰³ William Hodges, the Staffordshire crystal-gazer;¹⁰⁴ Alexander Hart, an ex-soldier, who professed to discover the proper times for gamblers to play dice;¹⁰⁵ Geoffrey Neve, once storekeeper and quack doctor;¹⁰⁶ Richard Delahay, alias Dr. Ardee, a disbarred attorney;¹⁰⁷ Cap-

¹⁰⁰ *The Devil Is an Asse*, I, ii, ll. 1-10, *ibid.*, VI, 169.

¹⁰¹ See Jonson's *Conversations with Drummond*, Bodley Head Quartos, No. 5, ed. G. B. Harrison (1930), p. 14: "He [Jonson] can get Horoscopes, but trusts not in ym, he with ye consent of a friend Cousened a lady, with whom he had made ane apointment to meet ane old Astrologer in the suburbs, which she Keeped & it was himself disguysed in a Longe Gowne & a whyte beard at the light of Dimm burning Candle up in a litle Cabinet reached unto by a Ledder."

¹⁰² Lilly, *History of His Life and Times* (1822), pp. 34 ff.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55. At one time Evans had been a curate in Tomkis' county of Staffordshire.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 115 ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-63.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

tain Bubb, a convicted thief;¹⁰⁸ and William Poole, gardener, bricklayer, pickpocket, and judicial astrologer.¹⁰⁹ Men of this order had obviously sunk even beneath hypocrisy. Nothing made their profession more shameful than their lives.

The testimony is everywhere the same. A second seventeenth-century astrologer, Lilly's chief rival, John Gadbury, attacks the charlatanism of his colleagues:

I am of the belief, the application of this story [an account of John Lambe's attempt to cheat Sir Kenelm Digby] will reach . . . the consciences and practices of some among us, that wear the golden name of *Astrologers*; who very commonly under pretence thereof, make use of a *Christal*, and other pretended *Cheats* and *Shifts*, to Gull the sillier sort of people. . . . Nay, this villany is grown so rife and common now, among us, that he is not worthy (almost) to be deemed an *Astrologer*, that cannot stretch both his conscience, and skill, like unto these persons touched . . .¹¹⁰

Those who respected astrology could look only with grief and anger on the rising tide of quackery. As Elias Ashmole wrote:

Yet of this sort at present are start up divers Illiterate *Professors* (and *Women* are of the Number) who even make *Astrologie* the Bawd & Pander to all manner of Iniquity, prostituting Chast *Urania* to be abus'd by every adulterate *Interest*. And what will be the issue (I wish it may prove no *Prophesie*) ere long *Astrologie* shall be cried down as an *Impostor*, because it is made use of as a *Stale* to all bad *Practises*, and a *laudable Faculty* to bolster up the *legerdimane* of a *Cheate*.¹¹¹

One further force militating against the astrologers needs discussion. Beginning with the famous new star of 1572 and including such phenomena as the brilliant comet of 1577, the earthquake of 1580, and the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 1583, the prognosticators had issued a long series of books, most of them prophesying sad days for England. The excitement aroused by these seemingly portentous occurrences flourished everywhere. On the Continent, Tycho Brahe's able study *De Nova Stella* (1572) de-

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-67.

¹¹⁰ *Natura Prodigiorum* (1665), pp. 175-176. Like Lilly, Gadbury is referring to the situation somewhat after the first quarter of the seventeenth century; yet as Lilly's reference to Forman and Gadbury's reference to Lambe show, these malpractices obtained among the earlier astrologers.

¹¹¹ Thomas Norton, *The Ordinall of Alchimy . . . with annotations by Elias Ashmole*, ed. E. J. Holmyard (Baltimore, 1931), p. 123.

voted as much space to the astrological as to the scientific aspects of the phenomenon.¹¹² The English court was thrown into a turmoil. Lord Burleigh wrote the eminent astronomer Thomas Digges for his opinion and learned that the nova indicated some "fatall Tragedie."¹¹³ Walsingham and Sir Thomas Smith, onetime chief secretary to the Queen, corresponded lengthily on the subject and mulled over the question whether the nova could be the soul of Admiral Coligny, killed in the St. Bartholomew massacre earlier in the year.¹¹⁴ The Queen herself, perhaps at the urging of the Earl of Leicester, is said to have called in Thomas Allen, the astrologer of Trinity College, Oxford.¹¹⁵ Others likened the star to that which appeared at the birth of Christ and prophesied hopefully the immediate conversion of all pagans.¹¹⁶ But since none of the hopes and fears were realized, the prognosticators were faced with a disastrous anticlimax.

A flood of books appeared in connection with the comet of November, 1577. Abraham Fleming was early in the field with his translation entitled *Of All Blasing Starrs in Generall* (1577), a work which proved so popular that it went through two editions within the year and was later revived to do service for the comet of 1618 under a slightly altered title.¹¹⁷ Thomas Twynne, a successful doctor and friend of John Dee, issued *A View of Certain Wonderfull Effects of the Comete* (1578), and two years later one F. K. published a study *Of the Crinitall Starre*. These treatises supplemented the customary annual prognostications. The furor caused by the comet seems also to have encouraged the publication of astrological textbooks, for we find in 1581 John Maplet issuing *The Diall of Des-*

¹¹² The English translation, *Learned Ticho Brahae his astronomical Coniectur of the new and much admired [Star]*, was not published until 1632 because, as we learn (p. 17), Brahe had said that the chief force of the nova would not be felt until that year.

¹¹³ Digges's letter is printed in E. M. Tenison, *Elizabethan England* (Royal Leamington Spa, 1933-1940), II (1933), 208.

¹¹⁴ John Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith* (Oxford, 1820), pp. 161-163. How far Sir Thomas was serious is hard to determine. His letter shows him chiefly absorbed in purely astronomical data, and the tone of his allusions to "what the star-gazers there did judge of it" is almost jocular. Moreover, Strype (p. 163) tells us on the authority of Richard Eden, a former student of Smith's, that when lecturing at Cambridge Sir Thomas commonly referred to the profession of "these superstitious horoscopers" as "the most ingenious art of lying."

¹¹⁵ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark (Oxford, 1898), I, 26-29. Aubrey says, on the authority of *Leicester's Commonwealth*, that Leicester was Allen's patron. Again, it is worth noting that Allen was a Staffordshire man.

¹¹⁶ Henry Howard, *A Defensative*, fol. 75a.

¹¹⁷ *A Treatise of Blasing Starres in Generall* (1618).

tiny and in 1583 Fabian Wither translating *A Breefe and most easie Introduction to the Astrologically Iudgement of the Starres* from the French of Claude Dariot.

The earthquake of 1580, more disastrous on the Continent than in England, added fuel to the fires of superstition, at least six publications being called forth by the phenomenon.¹¹⁸

A conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 1583 helped keep the fires at a profitable pitch for the astrologers. Richard Harvey in *An Astrological Discourse vpon the great and notable Coniunction* (1583) spoke gloomily about the end of the world. Thomas Heth disagreed, and replied with *A Manifest and Apparent Confutation* (1583). Robert Tanner found occasion for *A Prognosticall Iudgement* (1583); while John Harvey rushed to his brother's defense with *An Astrologically Addition* (1583). In the year following, John Harvey issued further prognostications in a tract entitled *Leape yeere*. Nor did the tumult end at this point. The year 1588, it had been prophesied, would prove unusually grievous, so much so that Thomas Tymme published what must have seemed at the moment a necessary work, *A Preparation against the Prognosticated Dangers of this Yeare 1588*. The Harvey brothers, unabashed at their unhappy predictions of five years before, were again represented by the indomitable John Harvey, who, in addition to his regular almanac, wrote *A Discoursiue Probleme Concerning Prophecies*, attacking ignorant astrologers!

The dreaded calamities of the 1580's did not come to pass. If anything, England's glories rose higher during the decade, especially with the triumph over the Armada in the very year for which the worst catastrophes had been foretold. The failure of their predictions left the astrologers in a wretched position, nor was the fiasco soon forgotten. Fifteen years later Thomas Dekker recalled for his readers

That 88 by whose horrible predictions, Almanack-makers stood in bodily feare their trade would bee vtterly ouerthrowne, and poore *Erra Pater*

¹¹⁸ See Thomas Twynne, *A Discourse of the Earthquake of 1580*, ed. R. E. Ockenden (Oxford, 1936), pp. 77 ff., for a list of publications including Thomas Churchyard's *A Warning for the Wise*, William Elderton's ballad, *Quake. Quake. The Earth Doth Shake*, Abraham Fleming's translation, *A Bright Burning Beacon*, Arthur Golding's *A discourse vpon the earthquake*, and the Harvey-Spenser letters as contemporary treatments of the phenomenon. See also Lily B. Campbell, "Richard Tarlton and the Earthquake of 1580," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, IV (April, 1941), 293-301.

was threatned . . . to be put to baser offices than the stopping of mustard-pots: That same 88. which had more prophecies waiting at his heeles, thā euer *Merlin* the Magitian had in his head.¹¹⁹

Indeed, there was just reason why memories of the fiasco did not die. The astrologers had been so wild and loud in their predictions that they had made the anticlimax of false prophecy far worse than usual. Men could forgive errors about the weather, but not the unrest brought about by announcements of the end of the world. The astrologers had walked a plank of their own making.

This spate of predictions did not flow unchecked.¹²⁰ During the 1580's alone, as we have seen, Puritans like Philip Stubbes and William Perkins were moved to protest against the wicked folly of the prognosticators, while political figures like the Earl of Northampton and George Buchanan assailed the judicial astrologers as the cancer of the State. To this same period belongs *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584) of Reginald Scot, the notable skeptic who despised "the ridiculous art of nativitie-casting."¹²¹ Scot managed to summarize in a very few words the feeling which the judicial astrologers had brought on their own heads:

These casters of figures may bee numbred among the cousening witches, whose practise is above their reach, their purpose to gaine, their knowledge stolne from poets, their art uncerteine & full of vanitie, more plainly derided in the scriptures, than any other follie.¹²²

The London wits saw in the astrologers' confusion an unrivaled opportunity for satire, so that in the years 1590 and 1591 the war against the superstition passed over for a time into the hands of creative writers and thus became established as part of a literary tradition, first in the form of mock almanacs and prognostications, later in the guise of "characters." The satirical tradition thus founded flourished in one form or the other until the days of

¹¹⁹ *Non-Dramatic Works*, ed. Grosart, I, 94-95.

¹²⁰ Hugh de Lacy (*op. cit.*, p. 521), finds during the period from 1557 to 1600 only two books unfavorable to the pseudo science! The present sketch, which is by no means exhaustive, ignoring such important works as William Fulke's *Antiprognoticon* and Agrippa's *Of the Vanitie and Vncertaintie of Artes and Sciences* (1569), points to more than five times this number during the same period. Only by discarding the evidence can one arrive at the view that astrological belief was virtually unopposed among the Elizabethans.

¹²¹ *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), ed. Montague Summers (London, 1930), p. 96.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 120.

Butler's Sidrophel and Swift's famous hoaxing of Partridge.¹²³ Thanks to recent studies, the history of the mock almanac is now familiar.¹²⁴ In accounting for the popularity of the genre, however, we must not forget that such works were simultaneously a result and a cause of skeptical attitudes. When the pseudonymous pamphleteers of the 1590's made readers smile with their burlesque prophecies, they at once revealed their distrust of astrological predictions and encouraged a like disbelief in the minds of their readers. Theirs was satire with a purpose. For example, a work sometimes attributed to Thomas Nashe,¹²⁵ Adam Foulweather's *A Wonderfull, strange and miraculous, Astrologicall Prognostication for . . . 1591* is not confined to a burlesque of vapid prophecies: it casts a satiric glance at "Some curious Astronomers of late dayes, that are more Prophetically then Iudiciall,"¹²⁶ chiefly, we may suppose, John and Richard Harvey with their nonsense of the 'eighties. Similarly, Simon Smel-knave's *Fearefull and Lamentable effects of two dangerous Comets* (1591) keeps a witty, satiric eye on Richard Harvey's *Astrological Discourse*.¹²⁷ In his *Kind-Hartes Dreame*

¹²³ For the seventeenth-century background of these works, see J. T. Curtis, "Butler's Sidrophel," *PMLA*, XLIV (December, 1929), 1066-1078; W. A. Eddy, "Tom Brown and Partridge the Astrologer," *Mod. Phil.*, XXVIII (November, 1930), 163-168; and Eddy's "The Wits vs. John Partridge, Astrologer," *Studies in Philology*, XXIX (January, 1932), 29-40.

¹²⁴ Cornelius Walford, "Sham Almanacks and Prognostications," *Book-lore*, II (1885), 67-71, *et passim*, is an early but sketchy study. See rather Carroll Camden, Jr., "Elizabethan Almanacs and Prognostications," *The Library*, Ser. 4, XII (1931), 83-108, 194-207, and F. P. Wilson, "Some English Mock-Prognostications," *ibid.*, XIX (1938), 6-43.

No thorough study has yet been made of the possible foreign sources of the mock prognostications. Aretino was the author of several, for which see Alessandro Luzio, *Pietro Aretino nei primi suoi anni a Venezia* (Turin, 1888), pp. 8-9; and Aretino, *Un Pronostico Satirico, 1534*, Biblioteca Storica della Letteratura Italiana, No. 6, ed. A. Luzio (Bergamo, 1900). Huntington Brown (*Rabelais in English Literature* [Cambridge, Mass., 1933], pp. 36 ff.), finds a notable resemblance between the *Pantagrueline Prognostication* (1532) and the English burlesques of 1590, though this is debatable. Brown (p. 37) adds that these comic prophecies were expressions of goliardic humor and points to two such works in Latin by the German Heinrich Bebel (1470?-1518). The earliest known exemplars in English are *A Mery p̄noscation* (1544), in quadrimeter couplets, and Nicholas Allen's *The Astronomers Game* (1563?).

¹²⁵ Nashe's authorship is seriously questioned in Thomas Nashe, *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (1905), IV, 476-477.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 387. Nashe himself of course lost no chance to gibe at the Harveys' astrology. In *Haue with you to Saffron-walden* (*ibid.*, p. 8), he alludes to "Astrological Dick," who joined with his "Doctor Brother in eightie eight browne Bakers dozen of Almanackes." "Witlesse Gabriel and ruffling Richard," he adds (*ibid.*, p. 12), "haue . . . kept a hatefull scribbling and a pamphleting about earth-quakes, coniunctions, inundations, the fearefull blazing Starre . . . and tooke vpon them to be false Prophets, Weather-wizards, Fortune-tellers. . . ." Elsewhere (*ibid.*, pp. 70-73) he accused Gabriel of being a notorious almanac-maker by the name of Gabriel Frende.

¹²⁷ See Nashe, *Works*, IV, 476-477.

(1592) Henry Chettle introduces a story of a knavish cunning man with more than a touch of realistic detail embodying the kind of cheating which horary astrologers were accustomed to use,¹²⁸ while, by implication, one of the "jests" of George Peele tells of a gull duped by pretended horary astrology through the theft of an article which was then seemingly located by divination.¹²⁹ Much of this journalistic material constantly wavers between general satire and outright invective. Thomas Dekker, whose *The Ravens Almanacke* (1609) and *The Owles Almanacke* (1618) are among the most spirited of the mock prognostications, steadily derides the astrologers' "whole Calendars of lies" in his other pamphlets.¹³⁰ Somewhat beyond the limits of this study we find that in the 1620's *A New and Merry Prognostication* (1623) and *Vox Graculi, or Iacke Dawes Prognostication* (1623), both based on conventional material, were preceded by John Melton's *Astrologaster* (1620), a vivid cony-catching pamphlet containing a polemic against the pseudo science, but apparently directed at a known astrologer of the day.¹³¹

Coincident with *Albumazar* there appeared in Sir Thomas Overbury's *His Wife* (6th ed., 1615) the earliest "character" of a prognosticator, a subject who frequently came to sit for his portrait in similar collections.¹³² The sketch is bluntly satirical.

An Almanack-maker is the worst part of an astronomer. . . . His life is

¹²⁸ *Kind-Hartes Dreame* (1592), Bodley Head Quartos, No. 4, ed. G. B. Harrison (1923), pp. 49-59.

¹²⁹ "A Jest of George Riding to Oxford," in Robert Greene and George Peele, *Dramatic and Poetical Works* (The Old Dramatists, n.d.), ed. A. Dyce, pp. 617-618.

¹³⁰ See *Worke for Amorous*, *Newes from Hell*, and *The Wonderfull Yeare* in Dekker, *Non-Dramatic Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (Huth Library, 1885), IV, 130, II, 100, I, 94.

¹³¹ The astrologer directly attacked was a Dr. P. C., whose place of business was in Morefields "at the vpper end of this [an unnamed] Alley" (Melton, *Astrologaster*, p. 6). Such concreteness is so unusual that one is bound to think a specific astrologer was meant. Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (acted 1614), I, i, includes among London fortunetellers "the t'other man of Morefields," and one can generally trust Jonson in such matters. Moreover, Melton (*op. cit.*, p. 21) prefaces Dr. P. C.'s address with a directory of contemporary astrologers and "cunning men," including "Doctor Fore-man at Lambeth," who needs no identification, and "the shag-hair'd Wizard in Pepper-Alley," who was a quack named Hatfield. Cf. *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon*, II, i, in Thomas Heywood, *Dramatic Works*, ed. R. H. Shepherd (1874), V, 292-293: ". . . and then there is one Hatfield in Pepper-Alley, hee doth prettie well for a thing that's lost." Although Dr. P. C. cannot now be identified, there seems little reason to doubt that Melton, in attacking him, was employing personal invective as well as satirizing astrological charlatans in general.

¹³² See, for example, Richard Brathwait, *Whimzies* (1631), pp. 1-8; "The Character of a Quack Astrologer (1673)," in *A Book of 'Characters'*, ed. Richard Aldington (London, n.d.), pp. 396-398; and Samuel Butler, *Characters and Passages from Note-Books*, ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1908), p. 71.

meerely contemplative: for his practice, 'tis worth nothing, at least not worthy of credit, and if (by chance) he purchase any, he loseth it againe at the yeares end, for time brings truth to light.¹³³

The full portrait is an ugly one, for the tempers of educated men were running short at the spectacle of the cheating astrologer.

By 1614/15 the current of objection was flowing in two parallel streams: on the one side, the reasoned denials of astrological doctrine, and on the other, the hearty distrust of those who practiced the art. The technical arguments necessarily had almost no place in literature,¹³⁴ whereas the distrust of quackery found a ready expression in the satirical prose of the 1590's. The English dramatists had been slow to take the cue. One has only to think of the lapse of time between Ariosto's great comedy *Il Negromante* (acted 1520) and *The Alchemist* (acted 1610). Conjuring and occultism had of course been treated in the English drama long before *The Alchemist*. One recalls the burlesque conjuring in *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (acted 1553/54),¹³⁵ the pretended sorceress in Munday's *Fidele and Fortunio* (1585), the two great companion figures of Faustus and Friar Bacon, the magic in *The Old Wives' Tale* (1595), to say nothing of the throngs of fairies, witches, and magicians in other plays of the time.¹³⁶ But in none of these is judicial astrology treated satirically. Even in plays which contain soothsayers, for instance *George-a-Greene* (1599) and *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* (1598), we find that the playwright reveals no attitude toward his forecasters, whose prognostications have purely dramatic uses.

¹³³ Overbury, *Miscellaneous Works*, ed. E. F. Rimbault (Library of Old Authors, 1856), pp. 92-93. See, *ibid.*, p. 288, for the generally accepted claim by J. Cocke to have written this sketch.

¹³⁴ The only notable exception is Robert Greene's *Planetomachia* (1585), which begins with a Latin dialogue serving as "a briefe Apologie of the sacred and misticall Science of Astronomie," and which contains a group of stories illustrating the effects of the planets (*Complete Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart [Huth Library, 1881-1886], V, 1-136).

¹³⁵ *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, II, i, 85 ff., in J. Q. Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* (Boston, 1924), p. 478.

¹³⁶ Studies of this subject have been numerous, though of unequal value. R. Zender, *Die Magie in englischen Drama des Elizabethanischen Zeitalters* (Halle, 1907) is an early, incomplete survey. A far more concise and valuable account is that by H. W. Herrington, "Witchcraft and Magic in the Elizabethan Drama," *Jour. Amer. Folklore*, XXXII (October-December, 1919), 447-485. To this should be added the same author's "Christopher Marlowe—Rationalist," *Essays in Memory of Barrett Wendell* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), pp. 119-152; Russel Potter, "Three Jacobean Devil Plays," *Studies in Philology*, XXVIII (October, 1931), 198-204; Burton F. Fryxwell, "Ghosts and Witches in Elizabethan Tragedy, 1560-1625," *Summaries of Doctoral Dissertations, University of Wisconsin*, II, 295-297; and a thorough monograph with a valuable bibliography, Robert Hunter West, *The Invisible World* (Athens, Georgia, 1929).

This is true also of the numerous prophets in Shakespeare's plays.¹³⁷

After the turn of the century and the rise of "comical satire," quacks of all kinds begin to creep into the drama. The renewal of the old law against witchcraft and sorcery in 1604 was ostensibly responsible. Hence few of the knaves are simply astrologers. Like Subtle and Albumazar, they are versatile rogues who pretend to all the pseudo sciences, astrology among them. The cunning woman in Thomas Heywood's *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon* (acted ca. 1604), though a vital and sympathetic character, displays an extensive repertoire of shady tricks, chiefly of fortunetelling. Her clients are her dupes. In Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Woman Hater* (acted 1606) horary astrology, with its claim to locate lost articles, becomes the subject of jest.¹³⁸ In the pseudo-Shakespearean *The Puritaine* (1607) a group of clever rascals includes Peter Skirmish, who poses as a figure-caster, and George Pye-Board, one of whose adventures recalls the "jest" of George Peele with his pretended horary astrology.¹³⁹

The false conjurers, quack doctors, and various experts in sorcery who appeared in the plays of the first decade culminated in the Subtle of Jonson's *Alchemist*. Like Ariosto, Jonson stripped the occultist and his dupes bare. Behind the pitiable cravings of the gulls and the viciousness of the alchemist-astrologer, credulity has set its trap. Base human desires and the panders to them form, as it were, the tragic element in the play: the cream of the sorry jest is in the will to believe. What comedy there is—and in *The Alchemist*, as in all great satires, misery and comedy go hand in hand—springs straight from the extravagant promises and the masterly jargon of Subtle and Face. These make us smile: the rest moves us to wretchedness. Through *The Alchemist* Jonson established for dramatic satire the theme of human gullibility toward occult practices. To be sure, by 1610 alchemy stood even lower in the scale of accepted pseudo sciences than did astrology,¹⁴⁰ but a blow at the

¹³⁷ The possible exceptions, Roger Bolingbroke and Margery Jordan in *2 Henry VI*, are not subjects for satire.

¹³⁸ Beaumont and Fletcher, *Works*, ed. A. Glover and A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1905-1912), X, 107.

¹³⁹ C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Shakespeare Apocrypha* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 241 ff.

¹⁴⁰ Like all the occult sciences, alchemy exercised greater charms at certain times than at others. Elizabeth had certainly encouraged John Dee in alchemical research (see his

one was a blow at the other. The concept of the occult was being vividly clarified as its dangers were revealed.

Of all the playwrights, Jonson and Fletcher were most vehement in their hatred of astrologers. Not content with introducing astrol-ogers on the stage, Fletcher composed a scathing attack in a poem appended to his own play *The Honest Man's Fortune* (1613). This is too long to analyze here, but Fletcher's bitterness toward the "artists" is revealed when he says:

He that made *Egypt* blind, from whence you grew
Scabby and lowzie, that the world might see
Your Calculations are as blind as ye:
He that made all the Stars, you daily read,
And from thence fitch a knowledge how to feed;
Hath hid this [my fate] from you, your conjectures all
Are drunken things, not how, but when they fall.¹⁴¹

Fletcher and Jonson collaborated in rewriting *The Bloody Brother*, an old play which they may have revamped as early as 1614 or 1615.¹⁴² Under the thinly disguised names of Russe, De-Bube, La-Fiske, and Norbret, the playwrights presented Savory[?], Captain Bubb, Nicholas Fiske, and Thomas Bretnor—a group of notorious quacks who flourished in London about this time.¹⁴³ Throughout the play they are treated with savage contempt. Latorch, the villainous follower of Rollo, Duke of Normandy, uses them for his own base ends, though they are too stupid to know that they are being used. In Act IV, Scene ii, we see them at work calculating a horoscope. Despite their supposed knowledge of the future, they are hungry and ragged. Talking with each other, they make no pretenses: as La-Fiske says, "Come, we are stark naught all, bad's the best of us."¹⁴⁴ They reveal their pitiable shifts, one of them

Private Diary, ed. J. O. Halliwell [Camden Society, 1842], p. 37); but with Dee's disastrous failure at the Polish court and his death in 1608, together with the imprisonment of the alchemist-astrologer John Lambe in the same year, the pseudo science lay invitingly open to ridicule. Furthermore, natural astrology was fundamental to all forms of magic, since it dealt with macro-microcosmic relations. Hence the companion science of judicial astrology was able to stay on a comparatively even keel while the superstructure of the other "arts" was being battered.

¹⁴¹ Beaumont and Fletcher, *Works*, X, 279.

¹⁴² I accept the authorship and dating assigned by E. H. C. Oliphant, *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher* (New Haven, 1927), pp. 458–463.

¹⁴³ Cf. the passage from *The Devil Is an Ass* cited above, p. 36.

¹⁴⁴ Beaumont and Fletcher, *Works*, IV, 293.

being to steal articles which they pretend to locate by horary astrology. When Latorch asks them to cast a horoscope, they do so; but it tells them nothing, and they are able to give a judgment only because Latorch virtually tells them what he wants them to say. Later their knavery is disclosed, and we have what we may suppose is the playwrights' comment when Aubrey, the hero who is about to upset their prophecies, calls them "Knaves that cheat for bread."¹⁴⁵ As the play ends, they have their just deserts in a whipping. Though the satire consists of conventional elements, the writers' attitude is clear enough: even if judicial astrology were a worthy art, those engaged in using it are beneath contempt.

The same point of view underlies other plays of this time. In Fletcher's *The Chances* (acted 1615) Peter Vecchio, a sympathetic character, plays the part of a cunning man; but he speaks sorrowfully of "the Peoples fond opinions" in thinking that he can conjure and locate lost articles.¹⁴⁶ Middleton's *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's* (acted 1615) introduces the foolish gentleman Weatherwise, who babbles astrological jargon and witlessly tries to live by the almanac. In the same writer's *The Widow* (acted 1616) we have Latrocino, a thief whose technique suggests the usual charges of pilfering and discovery urged against horary astrologers. In Jonson's masque *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists* (1616) "the town's cunning man" is etched for us:

a creature of art too; a supposed secretary to the stars; but, indeed, a kind of lying intelligencer from those parts. His materials . . . were juice of almanacs, extractions of ephemerides, scales of the globe, filings of figures, dust of the twelve houses, conserve of questions, salt of confederacy, a pound of adventure, a grain of skill, and a drop of truth.¹⁴⁷

With *Mercury Vindicated* our brief survey must come to a close. Enough has been said to show that by the time of *Albumazar* satire on practicing astrologers was common. Beyond this point the list might be extended almost endlessly through the plays of Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton, through Simon Baylie's *The Wizard* (MS ca. 1620), through Massinger's *The City Madam* (1632), through John Wilson's *The Cheats* (1662) and *The Projectors* (1664), through Foresight in Congreve's *Love for Love* (acted 1695),

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

¹⁴⁷ Jonson, *Works*, ed. Gifford and Cunningham, VII, 239-240.

and through most of the eighteenth century with the several adaptations and revivals of *Albumazar* and *The Alchemist*. Examined from this point of view, *Albumazar* is merely an important early link in a long chain of dramatic satires on judicial astrology.¹⁴⁸

In summary, the historical pattern of the intellectual background is in no way obscure. For educated men—and Tomkis' comedy was written for them—mistrust of judicial astrology was widespread. Christian doctrine, inherited from the medieval church and interpreted by Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and extreme Calvinists alike, opposed the pseudo science as impious. The State threw its weight against the practice of the art with a long series of laws which put the astrologers on the defensive. The spread of literacy pushed them into pretentious malpractice. Philosophers, headed by a king who fancied himself as one, published elaborate treatises discrediting judicial astrology. At last the manifest unreliability of the astrologers themselves paved the way for the ridicule of imaginative writers, who began to burlesque their ineptitudes in the prose pamphlets of the 1590's, the dramatists following suit after the turn of the century. The climax of the early plays came of course with *The Alchemist*, which was shortly followed by *Albumazar*, the first play in English to have as its central figure a character who was primarily the cheating astrologer.

¹⁴⁸ The direct influence of *Albumazar* upon later plays is negligible except for Simon Baylie's manuscript drama *The Wizard* (see the edition by Henry de Vocht, *Materials for the Study of the Old English Drama*, N.S., No. 4 [Louvain, 1930], pp. xxxiii-xxxvii, *et passim*). The few seeming echoes in Massinger's *The City-Madam*—the use of jargon, the allusions to authorities on magic, etc.—are too conventional to be traced precisely to Tomkis' comedy. This is also true of John Wilson's *The Cheats* (ed. M. C. Mahm [Oxford, 1935]; see pp. 101-102). Some slight influence of *Albumazar*, however, has been detected in *Death's Jest-Book* and other works of Beddoes (see H. W. Donner, *Thomas Lovell Beddoes* [Oxford, 1935], p. 122).

§4. DATE OF COMPOSITION

The problem of the date at which Tomkis adapted *Albumazar* would hardly arise were it not for the well-known prologue written by Dryden for the performance of the play in 1668. In this Dryden stated that Tomkis' comedy had inspired *The Alchemist* (first acted 1610, first published 1612) and, more specifically, that the character of Albumazar had served as the model for Jonson's Subtle.

And *Johnson* of those few the best, chose this,
As the best modell of his master piece;
Subtle was got, by our *Albumazar*,
That *Alchamist* by this Astrologer.
Here he was fashion'd, and I should suppose,
He likes my fashion well, that wears my Cloaths.
But *Ben* made nobly his, what he did mould,
What was another's Lead, became his Gold:
Like an unrighteous Conqueror he Raigns.
Yet Rules that well, which he unjustly gains.¹

Dryden drove his point home by devoting the rest of the prologue to an assault upon the plagiarists of his own day.

On the face of it, Dryden's charge seems absurd and has evoked much hostile comment, ranging from Pepys' cautious remark, "It [*Albumazar*] is said to have been the ground of Ben Jonson's 'Alchymist,' "² to the sneers of the irascible Gifford, who saw in it only one more libel upon his beloved Ben.³ The arguments of the Jonsonians may be briefly summarized. They point out that the only evidence of verbal borrowing is that Dapper and Trincalo, somewhat similar characters, once use the same common phrase, "Believe it, no such matter";⁴ that, at worst, Jonson could have taken nothing more than the general conception of the charlatan who plays upon the foibles of others, a borrowing in no way sufficient to sustain a charge of plagiarism then or now;⁵ that this type of character, common enough in Italian comedy, was available in

¹ *Covent Garden Drollery*, ed. G. Thorn-Drury (1928), p. 87. Despite many statements to the contrary, Dryden's verse did not appear in the 1668 edition of the play as either prologue or epilogue.

² *Diary*, ed. H. B. Wheatley (1902-1903), VII, 334-335 (entry for February 22, 1667/68).

³ Jonson, *Works*, ed. William Gifford, revised by P. Cunningham (1875), IV, 3-4.

⁴ Jonson, *The Alchemist*, ed. C. M. Hathaway (1903), p. 267.

⁵ A letter signed "Philo-Drama" in *The Public Advertiser*, November 13, 1773. This well-informed critic anticipated all later discussions.

Tomkis' source;⁶ and that, apart from the unlikelihood of an established writer's borrowing from an academic playwright, the discrepancy of dates settles the issue in Jonson's favor.⁷

Not all these points are equally relevant to what Dryden actually said, but in maintaining them some critics have not hesitated to accuse Dryden of writing from ignorance or malice or a base desire to puff an unworthy play. The truth of the matter seems to be that Dryden may have based his statements upon an old piece of theatrical gossip. At any rate, long before Dryden's time, Jonson had a defender in Richard Brathwait, who in a cryptic but cutting satire on *Albumazar* referred to the comedy as a work in which

... our Iles *Ardelio* [i.e., busybody],
Descants of *Tom Trinkillo*;
Form'd like one that's all in mist,
Like a second *Alchymist*.⁸

In a later work Brathwait returns to the charge with an allusion to the appearance "on the publique stage" of "the subtile-headed *Alchymist*" and the "*Alchymists* own Ape, *Tom Trincalo*."⁹ Yet Brathwait's very insistence raises a suspicion that rumor had been unfavorable to Jonson. Jonson's own action confirms this. The year after the publication of *Albumazar* he apparently took cognizance of gossip and inserted before *The Alchymist* in the 1616 Folio a pointed claim to originality:

... petere inde coronam,
unde prius nulli velarint tempora musae.¹⁰

The implication is unmistakable. Add to this Dryden's friendship with the elderly actor William Beeston, whom he called "the chronicle of the stage,"¹¹ and we can guess that Dryden was writ-

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ "An Epigramme called the *Cambrian Alchymist*," *A Strappado for the Diuell* (1615), pp. 114-115.

⁹ *The Honest Ghost* (1658), p. 231. First noted by T. S. Graves in *Mod. Phil.*, XXIII (1925), 1-5.

¹⁰ *The Public Advertiser*, November 13, 1773; Jonson, *The Alchymist*, ed. H. C. Hart (1903), pp. i-ii.

¹¹ For this and for Beeston's high standing after the Restoration as an authority on the early drama, see E. K. Chambers, "A Jotting by John Aubrey," *Malone Society Collections*, I, iv-v (1911), 344-347.

It is barely possible that Dryden might have heard the rumor as a student at Trinity (1650-1654).

ing not so much out of an unscrupulous imagination as from a more or less trivial bit of old theatrical gossip.

Yet, curiously enough, if internal evidence has any value, the play may seem to show signs of having been written as early as 1610 and revised for presentation before the King. This is dangerous ground, which has already betrayed one critic who was eager, as I am not, to uphold Dryden's assertion. This writer attempted to show that Tomkis wrote about 1603, ignoring the fact that the comedy is based on a play not published until 1606.¹² He based his argument upon two allusions, the first to "the Issue of th' nezt Summers warres" (l. 392) and the second to "*Spinola's Campe*" (l. 1590). These constitute, he says, a reference to Spinola's siege of Ostend, since there were in 1614/15 no wars which concerned the English. Two news letters are a sufficient answer to this theory: *A true Relation of the Treasons attempted against foure Townes in the Netherlands. . . . With the Popes ten commandments to Marquise Spinola* (1615) and Henry Brereton's *Newes of the present Miseries of Rushia . . . Together with the Memorable occurrences of our owne National Forces, English and Scottes, vnder the Pay of the new King of Swethland* (1614).

As a matter of fact, virtually all the topical allusions fall into two clearly defined groups, those relating to 1610-1611 and those to 1613-1614. The clearest references to events in the earlier period concern Galileo. In several places Tomkis offers what must be the first burlesque in the language of the *Sidereus Nuncius*, which was published in March, 1610.¹³ Elsewhere (l. 367) Tomkis speaks of Galileo's being at Padua, though the astronomer had been summoned to Florence on July 12, 1610.¹⁴ Again, it is barely possible that the death of Robert Parsons in 1610 lay behind the allusion to the English College at Rome, with which he had been intimately connected.¹⁵ We find another reference to the earlier period, though this time to 1611, in the mention of the historian John Speed, whose two histories were both first issued then.¹⁶ Still, none of these allusions is more than a *terminus a quo*.

References of the second group work nearer and nearer the

¹² Pegge in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XXVI, 223-225.

¹³ *Albumazar*, ll. 240 ff., 367 ff., 826, and Explanatory Notes.

¹⁴ J. J. Fahie, *Galileo* (1903), p. 121.

¹⁵ *Albumazar*, l. 252.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, l. 383.

actual date of the first performance.¹⁷ Mention of yellow starched bands (ll. 590–91) brings to mind Mrs. Turner, the laundress, who achieved notoriety between the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in 1613 and her execution in 1615 for her share in the crime.¹⁸ In the same general period belongs the satire on duelling (ll. 1992–2001). The execution in 1612 of Lord Sanquhar for killing his fencing master, the King's *Proclamation against private Challenges and Combats* (1613), and Bacon's *The Charge of Sir Francis Bacon . . . touching Duells . . . With the Decree of the Star-chamber in the same cause* (1614) indicate that some discussion of the folly of duelling must have been in the air about this time.¹⁹ One final allusion requires a date shortly before the performance of the play in March, 1614/15. *Albumazar* orders that his almanac, designed for the meridian of Japan, be given to the East India Company so that it might discover the value of certain importable goods, "And know th'sucesse o'th voyage of *Magores*" (ll. 375–79). In order to encourage the already flourishing business of the Company,²⁰ James decided to help it establish friendly relations with rulers in the East. To do so, he granted his commission to Sir Thomas Roe to serve as English Ambassador to the court of the Great Mogul, the Emperor of Delhi, whose territories were called the *Magores*. The King granted his patent on January 14, 1614/15, and the "voyage of *Magores*" began when Sir Thomas sailed from England in March, 1614/15, the very month in which *Albumazar* was played.²¹

The evidence therefore favors a late date of composition. The fact that the topical allusions fall into two apparently distinct groups does not prove that the play was written early and re-furbished for presentation, because the nature of the early allu-

¹⁷ Mention of "*Coriatus Persicus*, and's obseruations of *Asia* and *Affrick*" (ll. 275–76) probably belongs with this second group because Coryate started his journey to the East in 1612, though his observations, *Thomas Coriate Traueller for the English Wits*, did not appear until 1616.

¹⁸ *DNB*, sub "George Turner." But cf. M. C. Linthicum, *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 156–157, for evidence that the fad both preceded and outlasted Mrs. Turner's notoriety.

¹⁹ Baldwin Maxwell, "The Attitude toward the Duello in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays," *Studies in Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger* (Chapel Hill, 1939), pp. 84–106, discusses the new feeling about duelling after 1613.

²⁰ W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge, 1910–1912), II, 101.

²¹ John Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East-India Company* (1810), I, 174–175.

sions is such that they might have been made several years after the actual events to which they refer. The later allusions, together with the extensive use of hunting terms imbedded throughout the text²²—an obvious attempt to cater to James's fondness for the sport—point toward the play's being adapted as late as January to March of the year of its performance.

²² *Albumazar*, ll. 95, 755, 867–868, 971, 1121, 1222, 1309–1310, 1366–1370, 2241, and 2410.

§5. STAGE HISTORY

Tomkis' comedy was first produced on the stage of Trinity College, Cambridge, Thursday night, March 9, 1614/15. The occasion was the visit of King James to the University, a royal progress for which elaborate preparations were made. An excellent account of the festivities appears in a letter of March 16, 1614/15, from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton at Turin.

MY VERY GOODE LORD:

I am newly returned from Cambrige, whether I went some two dayes after I wrote you my last; the King made his entrie there the 7th of this present with as much solemnitie and concourse of gallants and great men as the hard weather and extreme fowle wayes wold permit. The Prince came along with him, but not the Quene, by reason (as yt is saide) that she was not invited, which error is rather imputed to theyre chauncellor then to the schollers, that understand not those courses. Another defect was that there was no ambassadors, which no doubt was upon the same reason. But the absence of women may be better excused for default of language, there beeing few or none present, but of the Howards or that alliance as the Countesse of Arundell with her sister the Lady Elizabeth Gray: the Countesse of Suffolke with her daughters of Salisburie and Somerset, the Lady Walden and Henry Howards wife: which are all that I remember. The Lord Treasurer kept there a very great port and magnificent table with the expence of a thousand pound a day as is saide, but that seemes too large an allowance, but sure his provisions were very great besides plenty of presents, and may be in some part estimated by his proportion of wine, wherof he spent 26 tunne in five dayes. He lodged and kept his table at St. Johns College, but his Lady and her retinue at Magdalen College, wherof his grandfather Audley was founder. The Kinge and Prince lay at Trinitie College where the playes were represented, and the hall so well ordered for roome that above 2000 persons were conveniently placed. The first nights entertainment was a comedie made and acted by St. Johns men,¹ the cheife part consisting of a counterfait Sir Edward Radcliffe, a foolish doctor of phisicke, which proved but a lean argument, and, though yt were larded with pretty shewes at the beginning and end, and with somewhat too brode speach for such a presence, yet yt was still drie. The second night was a comedie of Clare Hall² with the helpe of two or three goode actors from other

¹ Cecill's *Æmilia*, in G. C. Moore Smith, *College Plays Performed in the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 67.

² George Ruggle, *Ignoramus*. The actors are given by Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

houses, wherein David Drommond in a hobby-horse, and Brakin, the recorder of the towne under the name of Ignoramus a common lawier, bare great parts: the thing was full of mirth and varietie, with many excellent actors, (among whom the Lord Comptons sonne though least yet was not worst) but more then halfe marred with extreme length. On the third night was exhibited an English comedie called Albumazer, of Trinitie Colleges action and invention, but there was no great matter in yt more then one goode clowns part. The last night was a Latin pastorall³ of the same houses excellently written and as well acted, which gave great contentment as well to the King as to all the rest.⁴

We may assume that, in all the excitement of the King's visit, great hopes were held for the success of *Albumazar*. The college authorities had passed over such promising writers as Giles Fletcher and George Herbert, who were then in residence, and had summoned Tomkis from Wolverhampton to write and direct his own play.⁵ He had gone to Porta, whose plays were constant favorites with Jacobean students,⁶ and had carefully chosen a theme which would appeal to the anti-astrological taste of James and of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, the late Chancellor of the University. Yet the only contemporary judgment which has survived is Chamberlain's cold remark: "There was no great matter in it, more than one good clown's part."

In spite of Chamberlain's indifference, *Albumazar* was by no means dead. Contemporary evidence, though somewhat obscure, points toward continued performances. "The Cambridge Playe of Albumazar and Trinculo" was at least considered by the King's Office of the Revels about 1620 for a production at court.⁷ Milton, who did not go up to Christ's College until 1625, apparently saw a performance in the University and was distressed by the spectacle.

³ S. Brooke, *Melanthe*. The actors are given by Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁴ John Chamberlain, *Letters*, ed. N. E. McClure, American Philosophical Society Memoirs, No. XII (Philadelphia, 1939), I, 586-587.

⁵ See above, p. 3.

⁶ Ruggle's *Ignoramus* is based on Porta's *La Trappolaria* (Bergamo, 1596); Walter Hawkesworth's *Labyrinthus* (acted 1598/99?, published 1636) on *La Cintia* (1567), and the same writer's *Leander* (acted 1598, 1602/3, unpublished) on *La Fantesca* (1567). See Mary Augusta Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, Vassar Semi-Centennial Series (Boston, 1916), pp. 208-209, 211, 218. Porta's plays fitted ideally into the tradition of the academic stage, for, as J. L. Klein (*Geschichte des Drama* [Leipzig, 1856-1876], V, 663), says, "In diesem Jahrhundert ist Porta der Meister und Chorführer des römisch-italienischen Lustspiels in Plautinischen Ariosto Styl."

⁷ F. Marcham, *The King's Office of the Revels, 1610-1622* (1925), p. 11.

When in the Colleges so many of the young Divines, and those in next aptitude to Divinity have bin seene so oft upon the Stage writhing and unboning their Clergie limmes to all the antick and dishonest gestures of Trinculo's, Buffons, and Bawds; prostituting the shame of that minestery, which either they had, or were nigh having, to the eyes of Courtiers and Court-Ladies, with their Groomes and *Madamoisellaes*. There while they acted, and overacted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools, they made sport, and I laught, they mispronounc't and I mislik't; and to make up the *atticisme*, they were out, and I hisst.⁸

Again, Thomas Randolph, who, like Milton, did not enter Cambridge until long after the first production of *Albumazar*, alludes to the play casually in *The Conceited Peddler* (1630) as though his audience were familiar with the sight of the astrologer's "Otacousticon."⁹ The early prompter's copy, as described in the Appendix, may indicate yet another performance. Finally, we have Richard Brathwait's testimony that Tomkis' work appeared "on the publique stage,"¹⁰ though we do not know when.

The second known production took place in February, 1668, at the Duke of York's Theatre, Lincoln's Inn Fields.¹¹ The revival must have been encouraged to some extent by John Dryden, because on this occasion he wrote a prologue for the piece. No detailed account of this production survives, yet it must have been partly successful since it was first given on February 2 and held the stage until at least the twenty-second of the month. Pepys saw it then and recorded his impression in his *Diary*:

Thence to the Duke's playhouse, and there saw "Albumazar," an old play, this the second time of acting. It is said to have been the ground of B. Jonson's "Alchymist;" but, saving the ridiculousnesse of Angell's

⁸ *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, in Milton, *Works*, ed. F. A. Patterson and others (New York, 1931-1938), III, 300. It is quite unlikely that Milton is referring to the first University performance, which was given when he was only eight; nor is it likely that *The Tempest* is meant, for there are no bawds (no Bevilona and no Armellina) in Shakespeare's comedy.

⁹ Randolph, *Poetical and Dramatic Works*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt (1875), I, 46. The peddler brings out a nightcap fit for an alderman and remarks, "Albumazar's *otacousticon* was but a chamber-pot in comparison [to this]."

¹⁰ *The Honest Ghost* (1658), p. 231. E. M. Albright (*Dramatic Publication in England*, Modern Language Association of America, Monograph Series, II [New York, 1927], p. 259), says that it was presented on the public stage but cites no authority.

¹¹ J. Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830* (Bath, 1832), I, 85.

part, which is called Trinkilo, I do not see any thing extraordinary in it, but was indeed weary of it before it was done. The King here, and, indeed, all of us, pretty merry at the mimique tricks of Trinkilo.¹²

Albumazar next appeared under a pseudonym. John Corey's *The Metamorphosis: or, The Old Lover Out-Witted*, which according to the title page had been "Written Originally by the Famous Moliere," was produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields, October 2, 1704,¹³ and was published in the same year. This is Tomkis' comedy under an exceedingly thin disguise. The original five acts have been cut to three, and various other changes have been made, but the essential plot and a good share of the dialogue reappear bodily.¹⁴ The characters' names have been shifted,¹⁵ as well as their relationships,¹⁶ and various topical allusions have been introduced.¹⁷ But the chief change in construction has been the diminution of the subplot concerning Trincalo (here called Roger), though even this consists of little more than the occasional omission of material: e.g., ll. 1502-1665 of the original, in which Trincalo enters Bevilona's house and is there trapped by her supposed husband Ronca. The value of this version is not hard to assess, since the recension is so close to the original. Corey's adaptation is in no way exceptional, and the brevity of its run is an adequate sign of its literary and dramatic values.

On April 3 and 5, 1744, *Albumazar* was again produced,¹⁸ this time as *The Astrologer*,¹⁹ adapted by the American hack writer

¹² *Diary*, ed. H. B. Wheatley, VII, 334-335 (entry for February 22, 1667/68).

¹³ Genest, *op. cit.*, II, 326.

¹⁴ For the dialogue, see *Albumazar*, ll. 58 ff.; also Corey, *The Metamorphosis* (1704), p. 15: "And Homer filch'd all from an *Egyptian* Priestesse. The World's a Theatre of Theft; great Rivers rob small Brooks, and them the Ocean, till they Reciprocally play the Thief with one another, and turn Circular in Deceit." Examples can be multiplied indefinitely.

¹⁵ The changes are as follows:

Sir Credulous Mammon—Pandolfo; Old Mr. Traffic—Antonio; Cheatly—Harpax; Nickum—Ronca; Young Traffic—Lelio; Lovemore—Eugenio; Trickwell—Albumazar; Carolina—Flavia; Sly—Furbo; Crafty—Cricca; Roger—Trincalo; Emilia—Sulpitia; Martina—Armellina.

¹⁶ In *The Metamorphosis* Sir Credulous Mammon (Pandolfo) is the guardian, not the father of Emilia (Sulpitia), and Lovemore (Eugenio) is no longer his son, but his nephew.

¹⁷ When Sir Credulous looks through the astrologer's "Astrscope" (*ibid.*, pp. 6-7), he sees the Cardinal Primate and all the Diet assembled in Poland; in France, the King and Madame Maintenon making plans for the next campaign; in Russia, the Czar and Prince Alexander working with shipwrights; and so on.

¹⁸ Genest, *op. cit.*, IV, 65-66.

¹⁹ Unlike Corey, Ralph made no effort to conceal his source. Even when his play was licensed, it was called *Albumazar* with the subtitle *The Astrologer*. See Dougald MacMillan, *Catalogue of the Larpent Plays in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, 1939), §44.

James Ralph.²⁰ The advertisement prefixed to the printed version tells the history of the revised play:

Tho' Warnings are seldom taken, they ought always to be giuen: It is fit, therefore, that such as either have, or may have, the Itch of writing for the Stage upon them, should know That the following *still-born* Piece had the Merit of being founded upon one of the best old Plays in our Language; that *Ten Years* elapsed, before it could obtain the Favour of a Representation; that the Author was not unknown to the Great,²¹ nor destitute of private Friends; that, having devoted the most serious of his Studies to the Service of the Public, he had some Reason to expect the public Favour: And yet, that the Receipts of the House, upon the First Night, were but twenty-one Pounds; and that, when the *Manager* had the Generosity to risque a Second, in order to give the Author a Chance for a Benefit; he was obliged to shut up his Doors, for want of an Audience.²²

The failure of the piece was quite deserved, for it has neither of the merits of a good adaptation: it does not retain the virtues of the original, nor does it offer any improvement on its source. As Genest remarked, *The Astrologer* makes "no very material alteration in the plot, but the language is altered greatly for the worse."²³

Ralph began by shifting the characters' names to fit the taste of the eighteenth-century playgoer.²⁴ He also made some minor changes in the plot, such as having the two girls, Clara and Laetitia, meet the astrologer and ridicule his profession and having Whimsey (Antonio) disappear willfully to test his friend's honesty. But these changes are insignificant because they are purposeless.

The alteration of language, which consisted in translating Tomkis' verse into eighteenth-century prose, was consistently unfortunate. Whatever slight distinction the dialogue may have had disappears entirely when rendered in stiff, sententious prose. A single example will show the difference in style. At the beginning

²⁰ He was the journeyman printer who accompanied Benjamin Franklin to London and who figures in the latter's *Autobiography*.

²¹ If Ralph meant the theatrically great, he was probably alluding to David Garrick, who spoke the prologue and wrote the epilogue for the performance: Ralph, *The Astrologer*, sigs. A3^r–A4^r.

²² *Ibid.*, sig. A2^r.

²³ Genest, *op. cit.*, IV, 65.

²⁴ The changes are as follows:

Stargaze—Albumazar; Siftem—Ronca; Sly—Harpax; Brag—Furbo; Doterel—Pandolfo; Whimsey—Antonio; young Whimsey—Lelio; young Doterel—Eugenio; Brains—Cricca; Motley—Trincalo; Clara—Flavia; Laetitia—Sulpitia; Fainwou'd—Armellina.

of both plays we hear the mock astrologer instructing his comrades in the art of thievery. In Tomkis' work Albumazar says:

Therefore go on: follow your vertu's lawes
 Your card'nall vertue, *great Necessity*,
 Wait on her close, with all occasions.
 Be watchful, haue as many eyes as heauen,
 And eares as harvest: be resolu'd and impudent,
 Beleeue none, trust none: for in this Citie
 (As in a fought field Crowes and Carkasses)
 No dwellers are but Cheaters and Cheateez.²⁵

Ralph renders the same idea:

Necessity has more Force in it than all the Edicts in the World: Follow her close then, and make her Children, Wit and Industry, your constant Companions. Look out sharp for Opportunity; and hold it fast as the Woman you love—Have as many eyes as Jealousy! as many Ears as Scandal Tongues!—Borrow all Professions, as well as live on all Purses.²⁶

Tomkis' characters, too, have suffered in the adaptation. In the main, the schemers continue to plot and their dupes to be gulled, but subtler contrasts have been removed. The two feminine leads, Clara and Laetitia, are alike in their pert and knowing coquetry. Stargaze, the astrologer, is as polished a gentleman as anyone in the cast. Tom Motley, the equivalent of Tomkis' rustic clown, is much more like a "gentleman's gentleman" than a farmer. Fainwou'd, the maid, is not far behind the young ladies in the finish of her language. In short, Ralph tried to bring all his characters to a higher social level and thus destroyed whatever contrast and variety the original possessed.

Three years after the failure of Ralph's adaptation, the original comedy was revived October 3, 1747, at the Drury Lane Theatre under the auspices of David Garrick,²⁷ who seems to have been fond of the play. At this performance Garrick showed his interest

²⁵ *Albumazar*, ll. 75–82.

²⁶ Ralph, *The Astrologer*, p. 2.

²⁷ Dougald MacMillan, *Drury Lane Calendar, 1747–1776* (Oxford, 1938), p. 202. It is reasonably certain that the original play, not an adaptation by Garrick, was given. The 1747 edition claims to be the comedy "As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane"; and this text is the same as that in Dodsley's *Old Plays* (1744), which in turn is a reprint of Q3 or Q4.

by speaking the Dryden prologue although he acted no part.²⁸ The cast did include, however, such talented favorites as Sparks, Macklin, Neale, Yates, and Barry; while one of the feminine leads, presumably Sulpitia, was taken by the leading comedienne of the day, Peg Woffington.²⁹ This revival was a moderate success: it ran six nights in all from October 3 to November 17.³⁰

Further proof that the original play was well accepted may be adduced from the fact that it was soon revived in the same theater, April 13, 1748, as a benefit for Winstone and Neale.³¹ The cast on this occasion included Sparks as Albumazar, Macklin as Pandolfo, Neale as Trincalo, Yates as Cricca, and Mrs. Woffington as Sulpitia. Since the comedy was given solely as a benefit, its run was limited to one night.

Again in the Drury Lane Theatre and with Garrick as sponsor the last known production of the play took place on October 19, 1773.³² Garrick apparently hoped to capitalize on the reaction against sentimental comedy engendered by the great success of *She Stoops to Conquer* early in the year. Seemingly, too, Garrick even hoped that Trincalo might prove an adequate substitute for Tony Lumpkin.

Since your old taste for laughing is come back,
And you have dropp'd the melancholy pack
Of tragi-comic-sentimental matter,
Resolving to laugh more, and be the fatter,
We bring a piece drawn from our ancient store,
Which made old English sides with laughing sore.
Some smiles from *Tony Lumpkin*, if you spare,
Let *Trincalo* of *Totnam* have his share.³³

In order to bolster the comedy, Garrick introduced some radical changes, yet his alterations are shrewdly designed. The fashion is to condemn the great actor-manager for tampering with Elizabethan texts. While it is true that his manipulation of the great dramas was often unfortunate, that should not obscure his extraor-

²⁸ Genest, *op. cit.*, IV, 232.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 242, says that Mrs. Woffington played Sulpitia at the benefit; so she doubtless had the part originally.

³⁰ MacMillan, *Drury Lane Calendar*, p. 202.

³¹ Genest, *op. cit.*, IV, 242.

³² MacMillan, *Drury Lane Calendar*, p. 202.

³³ *Albumazar* (1773), sig. A2^r.

dinary astuteness as to what made a lesser play interesting to the audiences of his own time. In altering *Albumazar*, moreover, he was on sure ground, for he had written enough satirical comedies himself to know what features the older play lacked.

Garrick's revisions went chiefly to speeding up the action of the play. For example, he omitted a good share of I, iii, in which the marvelous contrivances of the astrologer are displayed. In all, he omitted two entire scenes,³⁴ and rigorously compressed many others into three or four speeches.³⁵ His excisions generally remove primitive or repetitious low comedy.

One unhappy omission is that of II, viii, in which the spirited Flavia reproaches her lover Eugenio for his failure to solve their difficulties. This scene, one of Tomkis' invention, does nothing toward forwarding the plot, the probable reason for its omission; but it is important in developing the character of the girl Flavia. In this connection it is curious to note that the leading feminine role was thought to be the colorless Sulpitia—at least, the part went to Peg Woffington in 1747 and to Mrs. Abington in 1773.

Another shift of emphasis occurs with the part of Cricca, the scheming servant, in that his role is cut as far as possible. Apparently the eighteenth-century audiences had had their fill of at least one of the Plautine conventions.

The character of Armellina, the servant girl, is also altered. While Armellina remains a servant, she is made somewhat more ladylike, a change not entirely for the better. For instance, in Tomkis' version Armellina dismisses Trincalo's suit with the words, "Hence foole, hence" (l. 620). But Garrick's maid is more pert and less blunt:

Do you imagine you oaf you, that we of the city are to be woo'd and won like country girls, with *I like you Moll*, when shall we wed, ha? *E'en when you please good Robin*. A little more ceremony with me, if you please, Mr. Trincalo of Totnam; there take your basket, grow a little wiser, and you may have better luck another time.³⁶

As this expansion suggests, Garrick enlarged the role of Armellina slightly by assigning to her some of the action which had belonged to Cricca.

³⁴ Act I, Sc. vi, and Act II, Sc. v, of the original disappear.

³⁵ The compressions include I, v, vii, viii; II, iii, iv; III, ii, x; IV, vi, vii, ix, xiii; and V, x.

³⁶ *Albumazar* (1773), p. 16.

The final alteration, aside from the insertion of contemporary references, consisted in a rearrangement of a few of the scenes. These changes are not significant and were caused by the alterations already discussed.

Although all Garrick's renovations are not uniformly happy, they do result in an excellent adaptation. The dialogue has a brisk pace, and the play as a whole is accelerated, as it needed to be. Garrick's revision forms a pleasant contrast to the inept failures of Corey and Ralph, and its run of five nights was evidence of its competence.

The relative success of *Albumazar* in the eighteenth century was due chiefly to Garrick's obvious enthusiasm for another comedy on the order of *The Alchemist*, in which he scored such a success. The neoclassic tone and the satirical hit at superstition, too, must have played a part in the audience's acceptance of the work. To be sure, *Albumazar* quite lacks the supreme imaginative moments and the great bursts of poetry which mark the best Elizabethan drama, yet its life on the stage, in one form or another, makes it virtually unique among university plays.

§6. STAGING

Much has been written about the staging of early academic comedies, but the Jacobean college drama still invites a thorough study. In the absence of such a background work, a discussion of how a given play was performed is necessarily speculative. Nevertheless, a close examination of all the stage directions given outright or implicit in the text of *Albumazar* makes it almost certain that this comedy was performed with a system of "houses" arranged in a façade quite in the tradition of the *commedia sostenuto* of the neo-classic Italian stage. Proof of this is not altogether easy.

We are handicapped at the outset by the lack of any external evidence. During the King's visit the plays were given in the Hall of Trinity,¹ a spacious room, one hundred by forty feet, which had been built in 1604/5 precisely like the Hall of the Middle Temple.² Unfortunately, the nature of the room gives no clue to the kind of stage which might have been erected in it, though some use of existing doors may have been made. Nor are we aided by reference to what has been called a picture of the stage in the Hall on the title page of William Alabaster's *Roxana* (1637), which has doubtful value as evidence. Unfortunately, too, there is available no such complete description of the Trinity stage as survives for Queen's.³ We know only that the stage may have been fairly elaborate, since the Senior Bursar paid more than £6 to have it painted plus 7s. 6d. for the painting of the rails and "Sayleirs."⁴ But this hypothesis is offset by several considerations. Not only did Trinity produce two plays at this time, but it allowed the other colleges to use its stage for their productions. Moreover, entries for the "stage" in the accounts may have included seating arrangements for two thousand people as well. Since the list of expenses is uncommunicative, we must turn to the play itself.

Of the fifty scenes comprising the comedy, thirty-six take place on the street before the houses belonging to the different charac-

¹ See above, p. 53.

² Robert Willis, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1886), II, 490.

³ Moore Smith in *Malone Society Collections*, II, ii, 199.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 172. "Sayleirs" is, I suspect, a misreading of "satyrs," i.e., decorative carvings set on the top of the stage pillars. See J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses* (Boston, 1917), p. 276.

ters.⁵ We have specific mention of the dwellings of Pandolfo, Antonio, Albumazar, and the courtesan Bevilona, and possibly of a tavern.⁶ Indeed the term "house" is so often in the characters' mouths as to imply its technical meaning. In addition, there are at least eleven examples of what E. K. Chambers has called "threshold scenes"—i.e., those which, for economy of interior action, take place just before the doorway of a house, where, as he points out, in plays which employed the neoclassic conventions, domestic business of an intimate or secretive kind might be transacted.⁷ So far as these two types of scenes are concerned, and they form almost the entire play, *Albumazar* might have been pictured on some such stage for comedy as Serlio had pictured.⁸

Since on this kind of stage the use of interiors was limited,⁹ the haste with which the dramatist removes his characters from within argues for the use of the neoclassic system. In one place, for example, the stage direction reads, "Pandolfo *at the window*" (l. 2599), yet Pandolfo at once comes out to quarrel with Trincalo, "the rogue [who] dares walke the streetes" (l. 2601). At another point, the dialogue suggests that Flavia may be seen glancing from her window, but only momentarily (ll. 1039-41). Even when Trincalo is enticed into Antonio's house and falls through a trapdoor into the cellar, the action requires only that the speakers be heard, not that the actual fall be witnessed (ll. 2221-23).

One long scene which might be thought to occur inside probably was played as a threshold scene. About the middle of the play (III, iii) the astrologer suggests to his confederates that after their hoax has taken effect they will all meet to dine at an inn (ll. 1294-99). The suggested meeting occurs (V, i), but nothing in the dialogue implies that the scene would be staged as actually inside an inn. On the contrary, at the end of the scene, one of the thieves says, "Fellowes away, here's company. Let's hence" (l. 2397), as though in fear of being seen by their dupe Pandolfo, who is obviously walking the streets, his servant Cricca being, as he says, "embost/With trotting all the streetes to find *Pandolfo*" (ll. 2411-12). The evidence is all against the use of an interior here.

⁵ The location of each scene is given in the Explanatory Notes.

⁶ The tavern or inn is discussed immediately below.

⁷ *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), III, 10-11.

⁸ Lily Bess Campbell, *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 36.

⁹ Chambers, *loc. cit.*

Two scenes remain which may at first sight seem to fit into the neoclassic method of staging only with some difficulty because both require fairly extensive use of interior action in a second-story room. We have already noted that characters in this play appear briefly behind a window. In one of the two crucial scenes (IV, iv) this appearance is much extended. The scene opens with Flavia and her servant Armellina locking the door (ll. 1822-23). The girls retire as they see Antonio approaching in the distance (ll. 1824-25). He comes to the gates of the house and knocks at them (ll. 1827-30), pleading with his daughter for admission, and at one point begs her specifically to "come downe, and know mee" (l. 1846). The implied use of the upper level is made virtually certain when, immediately following this plea, its refusal, and Antonio's anger, Armellina empties a jordan upon her master's head (l. 1855). The action thus demands at least one upper-floor window. Furthermore, the window was probably of a size to admit of only one person's being seen at a time, for that is exactly what happens: after Flavia has abused her father, she disappears and her place is taken by Armellina. The appearance of only one person makes it almost certain that the window was only a window and not so great an opening as the upper stage of the London theaters afforded.

The second of the crucial scenes (III, ix) is, in the absence of explicit stage directions, particularly difficult to account for satisfactorily. Here the harlot Bevilona entices Trincalo into her house.¹⁰ Once they are inside, Ronca, one of the astrologer's confederates who is playing the part of Bevilona's hot-tempered Spanish husband, comes and beats at the door, where at first he is refused entrance (ll. 1586-88). Bevilona pretends to recognize her husband, and there follows a dialogue which makes perfectly certain the use of both upper and lower levels.

[BEV. to TRIN.] Downe at that window.

TR. 'Tis as high as Paules.

'Open the Garden dore. . . .

[BEV.] Downe at some window, as you loue your life . . .

RON. *Beuilonas?*

Downe, or I'le breake the dores . . .¹¹

¹⁰ See Bevilona's repeated command that Trincalo enter (ll. 1545-46, 1554, 1577) and Trincalo's obedient answer, "Sweete Lady pardon mee, I'le follow you" (l. 1578).

¹¹ *Albumazar*, ll. 1595-1600.

Trincalo pleads for some trunk or chest to hide in while Ronca keeps clamoring for Bevilona to come down (l. 1607). So far the dialogue stresses the use of two levels, and if the set were conventional with an extraordinarily wide window in the house of the *ruffiana*,¹² the problem of visibility would not arise, even though Trincalo stood back in the supposed interior of the room so as not to be seen by Ronca standing below.

The action shifts from above when in feigned desperation Bevilona finds a way to hide her dupe.

[BEV. to TRIN.] I cannot stay.
There stands an empty Hogshead with a false bottome
 To ope and shut at pleasure: *come hither*, in,
 In, as you loue your life.¹³

If we imagine that Bevilona points to some place behind the façade and on the lower level when she utters the word "there" and that her command "come hither" is spoken as she moves away from the window on her way down to open the locked door, the course of the action becomes comprehensible, especially from what follows.

Trincalo hides, and Ronca enters. Though well aware that Trincalo is hidden in the cask (the trick has been planned beforehand), Ronca pretends ignorance and asks:

Wife, where's the empty hogshead
 That wont to stand vnder the staires?¹⁴

Bevilona replies, "There still" (l. 1618). Ronca demands that it be brought out (l. 1619) and after some delay Bevilona helps him carry it forward. In other words, the cask was originally hidden from Ronca and hence from the audience. Subsequent action, too, proves that the cask stands on the lower level. After Bevilona and Ronca have drenched the hidden Trincalo, the frightened lover appears, is forgiven, dried off, and invited to reënter the house (l. 1661). Thus even this scene, which requires a fairly extensive use of a second-story interior, was managed so as to maintain as far as possible that economy of interior action which was especially required by the neoclassic method of staging. Thus also the action of each scene can be interpreted in terms of the Italian type of setting, which was probably used in the performance before the King.

¹² Chambers, *op. cit.*, III, 29.

¹³ *Albumazar*, ll. 1607-1610. Italics mine.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 1617-1618.

§7. TEXTS

The history of the various seventeenth-century editions of *Albumazar* needs no detailed rehearsal here, the full story having been told by W. W. Greg in his recent *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*.¹ For the sake of convenience, however, I list the essential facts together with some comments of my own. For the eighteenth century I have employed the same method and have included in this chronological list the various adaptations of the play.

1615

Entered in the *Stationers' Register* to Nicholas Okes "*ALBUMAZAR* a comedie acted before his Maiestie at Cambridg[e] 10^o Marcij 1614 [i.e., 1615]."²

Q1 1615

ALBVMAZAR./A/Comedy presented before/the Kings Maiestie at Cambridge, the/*ninth of March*./1614./By the Gentlemen of *Trinitie Colledge*./[rule]/LONDON,/Printed by *Nicholas Okes* for *Walter Burre*,/and are to be sold at his Shop, in *Pauls*/Church-yard. 1615.

Collation: 4^o, A² B-L⁴. Title, A₁ (verso blank). *Dramatis Personae*, A₂. Prologue, A₂^v Text, B₁-L₃^v. Epilogue, L₄ (verso blank).

Q1 was printed with remarkable care and offers very few cruxes. Okes was doubtless furnished with a clean, legible manuscript. As was usual, however, the work underwent correction at press, so that different copies of Q1 do show variants. The text of the present edition is a faithful reprint of the Combes copy, now in the Folger Shakespeare Library. Variations from this in the Hoe-Huntington copy have been recorded in the textual notes under Q1HN.

Q2 1615

The title page is the same as that of Q1, but the collation differs.

Collation: 4^o, A-I⁴. Title, A₁. *Dramatis Personae* and Prologue, A₁^v. Text, A₂-I₄^v. Epilogue, I₄^v.

Q2 is more compactly printed than Q1; hence we may assume that it is the later edition. Q2 has independent readings of value enough to suggest that it may have been corrected in the light of the manuscript.

¹ (London, Bibliographical Society, 1940), I, §330. I wish to acknowledge the generosity of Dr. Greg in sending me the relevant proofsheets of his work before publication.

² Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640* (1875-1894), III, 566.

1630

Entered in the *Stationers' Register*, August 2, 1630.³ This is a conventional entry by which Nicholas Okes, who was gradually withdrawing from full control of his business, assigned to his son John the rights in twenty some books, among them *Albumazar*; but when four years later the play was reissued, it was Nicholas, not John, who was named as printer.

Q3 1634

ALBVMAZAR./A/Comedy presented be-/fore the Kings Maiesty at/
CAMBRIDGE./By the Gentlemen of Trinity Colledge./[rule]/Newly
reused and corrected by a speciall/Hand./[rule]/[device: McKerrow
251b]/[rule]/LONDON,/Printed by *Nicholas Okes* 1634.

Collation: 4°, A–L⁴. A1 and A2 are blank⁴ except for an ornamental border about the signature on A2. Title, A3 (verso blank). *Dramatis Personae*, A4. Prologue, A4^v. Text, B1–L3^v. Epilogue, L4 (verso blank).

Q3, which derives straight from Q1, has no value whatsoever as an independent text. The extent of the revision claimed for it goes no further than the correction of a few obvious misprints together with a half-hearted attempt at modernization in spelling, punctuation, and the expansion of contracted forms.

Q4a 1655(?)

There are two issues of this edition. The first issue, Q4a, dated 1634, has the same title page as that of Q3 except for two shifts: the “Newly reused” of Q3 becomes “Newly revised,” and the printer’s device, McKerrow 251b, has given way to McKerrow 269. The collation is the same in both editions. Moreover, the text follows Q3 closely, the variants showing only the normal corruption of a reprint. The most obvious feature of Q4, however, is the modern use of “u” and “v.” As W. W. Greg has pointed out, this suggests a date later than 1634, but how much later we cannot be sure.⁵

Q4b 1668

ALBUMAZAR./A/COMEDY,/As it is now Acted at His Highness/
THE/DUKE of YORKS/THEATRE./[rule]/[Ornament]/[rule]/LON-

³ *Ibid.*, IV, 206.

⁴ The amount of waste space in this preliminary gathering might suggest that Okes had counted on some prefatory material which he did not get—at a guess, something about a revival of the play.

⁵ In a letter to me Dr. Greg has suggested the 1650’s as a likely decade on the basis of other twin editions, e.g., *The Elder Brother*, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, and *Catiline*.

DON:/Printed for *Thomas Dring*, at the *White Lyon* near/*Chancery-Lane* end in *Fleet-street*. 1668.

Collation: the same as Q3.

This issue is the rarest of all copies of the play. Derived as they are from Q3, Q4a and Q4b have no standing as substantive texts.

1673

Entered in the *Stationers' Register*, June 30, 1673, when Anne, the widow of Edward Okes, signed over the rights in *Albumazar*, among other books, to Thomas Vere and John Wright.⁶

1704

[John Corey]. THE/Metamorphosis:/OR, THE/Old Lover Out-witted./A/FARCE./As it is now ACTED at the/NEW THEATRE/IN/LINCOLNS-INN-FIELDS./[rule]/Written Originally by the famous Moliere./[rule]/LONDON:/Printed for *Bernard Lintott* at the *Middle-Temple Gate* in *Fleetstreet*. 1704./Price 1s. 6d.

Collation: 4°, A-H⁴, pp. [viii]+56. Title, A1 (verso blank). Dedication "To *Clayton Milbourn*, Esq.," A2^{r-v}. "Prologue by *Mr. C. Johnson*: Design'd for *Mr. Verbruggen*, in the *Astrologer's Habit*," A3^{r-v}. "Prologue Spoken by *Mrs. Bradshaw*," A4. *Dramatis Personae*, A4^v. Text, B1-H4, pp. 1-55. Epilogue, H4^{r-v}, pp. 55-56.

This version was acted at *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, October 2, 1704.

1744

[James Ralph]. THE/ASTROLOGER./A/COMEDY./As it was ONCE acted/AT THE/THEATRE-ROYAL in *Drury Lane*./[rule]/*Men are Prodigals to their Follies, but Misers to their Virtues*. Astrol. P. 3./[rule]/[printer's device]/[rule]/LONDON:/Printed for M. Cooper, at the *Globe* in/*Pater-Noster-Row*./[rule]/MDCCXLIV./Price One Shilling Sixpence.

Collation: 4°, A-M², pp. [viii]+84. Title, A1 (verso blank). Advertisement, A2 (verso blank). "Prologue. By a Friend: Spoke by *Mr. Garrick*," A3. "Epilogue. By *Mr. Garrick*: Spoke by *Mrs. Woffington*," A3^v-A4. *Dramatis Personae*, A4^v. Text, B1-M2^v, pp. 1-84.

This adaptation was acted April 3 and 5, 1744. Announcement of publication occurred in "A Register of New Books," *Gentleman's Magazine*, XIV (April, 1744), 232.

Also in this year, *Albumazar* appeared in the first edition of Robert Dodsley's *A Select Collection of Old English Plays*. Dodsley did not know of Q1 and Q2: his text is based upon that of Q4a.⁷

⁶ [Henry R. Plomer], *A Transcript of the Register of the Worshipful Company of Stationers for 1640-1708* (1913-1914), II, 462.

⁷ See especially the Textual Notes to *Albumazar*, ll. 482, 847, and 849.

1747

ALBUMAZAR./A/COMEDY./As it is Acted at the/THEATRE ROYAL/IN/DRURY-LANE./[Ornament]/LONDON:/Printed for R. Dodsley in *Pall-Mall*. 1747.

Collation: 12°, A–D¹², pp. 96. Title, A1. “Prologue Written by Mr. Dryden,” pp. 2–3. *Dramatis Personae*, p. 4. “The Prologue,” p. 5. Text, pp. 6–95. “Epilogue,” p. 96.

Despite numerous statements to the contrary, this is not an alteration by Garrick or anyone else: it is merely a reprint, with added prefatory material, of the text in Dodsley's *Old Plays*. It was brought out in connection with the performance of the original comedy at Drury Lane in October, 1747.

1773

ALBUMAZAR./A/COMEDY./AS IT IS NOW REVIVED AT THE/THEATRE-ROYAL/IN/DRURY-LANE./With ALTERATIONS./[double rule]/LONDON:/Printed for T. BECKET, near Surry Street,/Strand. 1773./[Price ONE SHILLING.]

Collation: 8° in fours, A–K⁴, pp. [viii]+72. Title, A1 (verso blank). “Prologue. Spoken by Mr. King. At the Revival in 1773,” A2^{r-v}. *Dramatis Personae* (with the performers' names), A3 (verso blank). “Epilogue. Spoken by Mrs. Abington,” A4^{r-v}. Text, B1–K4^v. pp. [1]–72.

ALBUMAZAR./A/COMEDY./AS IT IS NOW REVIVED AT THE/THEATRE-ROYAL/IN/DRURY-LANE./With ALTERATIONS./[rule]/A NEW EDITION./[double rule]/LONDON:/Printed for T. BECKET, near Surry Street,/Strand. 1773./[Price ONE SHILLING].

Collation: the same as the preceding.

ALBUMAZAR./A/COMEDY./AS IT IS NOW REVIVED AT THE/THEATRE-ROYAL/IN/DRURY-LANE./With ALTERATIONS./[double rule]/DUBLIN:/Printed for H. Saunders, J. Potts, D. Chamberlaine, W. Sleater, R. Moncrieffe, and/T. Walker./[rule]/MDCCLXXIII.

Collation: 12° in sixes, A–F⁶, pp. [vi]+65. Title, A1 (verso blank). “Prologue. Spoken by Mr. King, At the Revival in 1773,” A2^{r-v}. “Epilogue. Spoken by Mrs. Abington,” A2^v–A3. *Dramatis Personae* (with the performers' names in italics), A3^v. Text, A4–F6, pp. [1]–65.

These three texts give Garrick's adaptation, which was staged in October, 1773. Notice of publication occurred in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XLIII (October, 1773), 509.

All later editions stem from Dodsley's text (1744). Isaac Reed, who edited Dodsley's collection in 1780, knew of Q1 but not of Q2,⁸ and his collation suffers accordingly. The next edition, that in *The Ancient*

⁸ See especially the textual note to *Albumazar*, l. 579.

British Drama (1810), which is sometimes dubiously claimed for Sir Walter Scott,⁹ is in effect a reprint of Reed's Dodsley. John Payne Collier, the next editor of Dodsley (1825), apparently worked from a copy of either Q1HN or Q2.¹⁰ At all events, he did not know that there were two quartos in 1615, and this led him to attack Reed for careless collation.¹¹ The most recent text is that in William Carew Hazlitt's edition of Dodsley (1874-1876). Hazlitt adopted most of Collier's emendations and added a number of his own, many of them quite unconvincing. Hazlitt therefore made less advance over preceding editors of Dodsley's collection than is often claimed for him—at least in handling this particular play; and the value of his edition is somewhat lessened by his omission of some of the useful Reed-Collier notes.

⁹ Margaret Ball (*Sir Walter Scott as a Critic of Literature*, Columbia University Studies in English, Ser. 2, No. 2 [New York, 1907], p. 52) finds no evidence that Scott edited this series.

¹⁰ See Textual Notes to *Albumazar*, l. 579, and Collier's Dodsley, VII, 132, 22.

¹¹ Collier's Dodsley, VII, 132, 22.

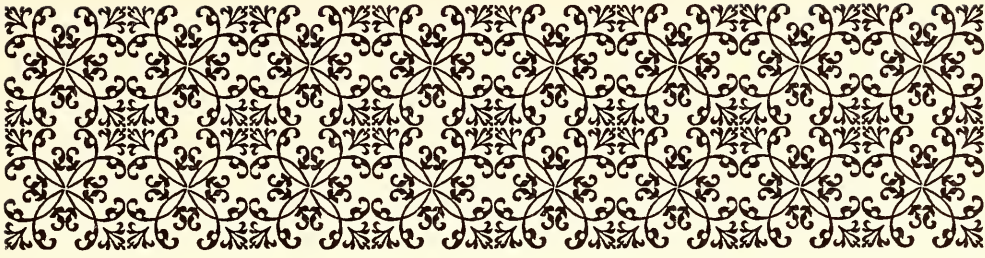
ALBVMAZAR.

A
Comedy presented before
the Kings Maiestie at Cambridge, the
ninth of March.

1614.

By the Gentlemen of Trinitie Colledge.

L O N D O N,
Printed by *Nicholas Okes* for *Walter Burre*,
and are to be sold at his Shop, in *Pauls*
Church-yard. 1615.



Dramatis Personæ.

	ALBUMAZAR.	An Astrologer.
	RONCA.	} Theeues.
	HARPAX.	
5	FVRBO.	
	PANDOLFO.	An old Gentleman.
	CRICCA.	His seruant.
	TRINCALO.	<i>Pandolfo's</i> Farmer.
	ARMELLINA.	<i>Antonio's</i> Maid.
10	LELIO.	<i>Antonio's</i> sonne.
	EVGENIO.	<i>Pandolfo's</i> sonne.
	FLAVIA.	<i>Antonio's</i> daughter.
	SULPITIA.	<i>Pandolfo's</i> daughter.
	BEVILONA.	A Curtezan.
15	ANTONIO.	An old Gentleman.

The Prologue.

T*He brightnesse of so great and faire a presence,
They say, strikes cold amazement. But I feele
Contrarie effects. For from the gracious center
20 O'th Honorable assembly, some secret power
Inflames my courage; and, me thinkes, I am growne
Taller by th' vertue of this Audience.
And yet thus rais'd, I feare there's no retiring.
Ladies, whose beauties glad the whole Assembly,
25 Vpon your fauours I impose my businesse.
If't be a fault to speake this forraigne language,
(For Latine is our mother tongue) I must intreate you
To frame excuses for vs; for whose sake
Wee now speake English. All the rest, we hope,
30 Come purposely to grace our poore endeouours;
As we to please. In whose faire curtesie
We trust; not in our weake abilitie.*




ALBUMAZAR.

Act. I. Scæn. I.

35 *Enter ALBUMAZAR, HARPAX, RONCA.*

ALBUMAZAR.

40  Ome braue Mercurials fublim'd in cheating,
My deere companions, fellow-fouldiers
I'th watchfull exercife of Theevery:
Shame not at your fo large profeffion,
No more then I at deepe Astrologie.
For in the dayes of old, *Good morrow Theife,*

As welcome was receiu'd, as now *Your Worſhip.*

The *Spartans* held it lawfull, and th' *Arabians,*

45 So grew *Arabia, Fælix; Sparta* valiant.

RONC. Read on this lecture, wife ALBUMAZAR.

ALB. Your patron *Mercury* in his myſterious character,

Holds all the markes of th'other wanderers,

And with his ſubtile influence workes in all,

50 Filling their ſtories full of robberies.

Moſt Trades and Callings much participate

Of yours; though ſmoothly gilt with th'honeſt title

Of Merchant, Lawyer, or ſuch like: the learned

Onely excepted; and hee's therefore poore.

55 HARP. And yet he ſteales one author from another.

This Poet is that Poets Plagiary,

B

And

And he a third's, till they end all in *Homer*.

ALB. And *Homer* filch't all from an *Ægyptian* Preeftesse.

The world's a Theater of theft. Great rivers

60 Rob fmaller brookes; and them the Ocean.

And in this world of ours, this Microcosme:

Guts from the stomack steale, and what they spare,

The meferaicks filch, and lay't i'th liver:

Where (leaft it fhould be found) turn'd to red *Nectar*,

65 Tis by a thoufand theevifh veines convey'd

And hid in flefh, nerues, bones, mufcles and finewes,

In tendons, skin and haire, fo that the property

Thus altered, the theft can never be difcovered.

Now all thefe pilfries couch't and compofd in order,

70 Frame thee and me. Man's a quick mafse of theevery.

RONC. Moft Philofophicall ALBVMАЗAR!

HARP. I thought thefe parts had lent and borrowed mutuall.

ALB. Say they doe fo: 'tis done with full intention

Nere to reftore, and that's flat robbery.

75 Therefore go on: follow your vertu's lawes

Your card'nall vertue, *great Neceffity*,

Wait on her clofe, with all occafions.

Be watchfull, haue as many eyes as heauen,

And eares as harveft: be refolu'd and impudent,

80 Beleeue none, truft none: for in this Citie

(As in a fought field Crowes and Carkaffes)

No dwellers are but Cheaters and Cheateez.

RONC. If all the houfes in the towne were prifons,

The chambers cages, all the fettles ftockes,

85 The broad gates gallowfes, and the whole people

Iuftices, Iuries, Conftables, Keepers and Hangmen,

I'de praftife fpite of all, and leaue behind mee

A fruitfull feminarie of our profeffion,

And call them by thy name *Albumazarians*.

90 HARP. And I no leffe, were all the Citie theeues

As cunning as thy felfe. ALB. Why brauely fpoken,

Fitting fuch generous fpirits: Ile make way

To your great vertue with a deepe refemblance

Of high Astrologie. *Harpax* and *Ronca*

95 Lift to our profit: I haue new lodg'd a pray
Hard by, that taken is so fat and rich
'Twill make vs leaue off trading, and fall to purchase.

HARP. Who is't? speake quickly. RON. Where good *Albumazar*?

ALB. 'Tis a rich gentleman, as old as foolish.

100 Th'poore remnant of whose brain that age had left him
The doating loue of a yong girle hath dried:

And which concerne's vs most, he giues firme credit

To Necromancy and Astrologie, *Enter FVRBO*

Sending to me, as one that promise both.

105 *Pandolfo* is the man. HAR. What old *Pandolfo*?

ALB. The same: but stay, yon's *Furbo* whose smootheft brow
Shines with good newes, and's visage promises

Triumphs and Trophies to's. *FVRBO playes.*

RON. My life h'as learnt out all, I know't by's musicke;

110 *Then FVRBO sings this song.*

Bear v p thy learned brow ALBVMAZAR,

Liue long of all the world admir'd,

For Art profound, and skill retir'd

To cheating by the height of starres.

115 *Hence, Gypsies, hence, hence rogues of baser straine,*

That hazard life for little gaine:

Stand off and wonder, gape and gaze afarre

At the rare skill of great ALBVMAZAR.

FVRB. *Albumazar,*

120 Spread out thy nets at large, here's fowle abundance:

Pandolfo's ours, I vnderstand his businesse

Which I filch't clofely from him, while he reveal'd

T'his man, his purposes and proiects.

ALB. Excellent!

125 Thankes to this instrument: for in pretence

Of teaching yong *Sulpitia*, th'old mans daughter,

I got acceffe to th'house, and while I waited

Till she was ready, ouer-heard *Pandolfo*

Open his secrets to his seruant: thus 'tis.

- 130 *Antonio, Pandolfo's friend, and neighbour,*
 Before he went to *Barbary*, agreed
 To giue in marriage. ALB. *Furbo*, this no place
 Fit to confider curious points of bufineffe.
 Come let's away, I'le hear't at large aboue.
- 135 *Ronca* ftay you below, and entertaine him
 With a lowd noife of my deepe skill in Art.
 Thou know'ft my Rofy modefty cannot do it.
Harpax vp you, and from my bed-chamber,
 Where all things for our purpofes are ready,
- 140 Second each beck, and nod, and word of ours.
 You know my meaning. HAR. Yes, yes. FVR. Yes fir.
Furbo goes out finging, Fa la la Pandolfo's ours.

A C T. I. S C E N. 2.

RONCA. PANDOLFO. CRICCA.

- 145 RON. **T**Here's old *Pandolfo*, amorous as youthfull May,
 And gray as Ianuary. I'le attend him here.
 PAN. *Cricca*, I feeke thy aide, not thy croffe counfell,
 I am mad in loue with *Flauia*, and muft haue her:
 Thou fpend'ft thy reafons to the contrary,
- 150 Like arrowes 'gainft an Anuile: I loue *Flauia*,
 And muft haue *Flauia*. CRI. Sir you haue no reafon,
 Shee's a yong girle of fixteene, you of fixty.
 PAN. I haue no reafon, nor fpare roome for any,
 Loue's herbinger hath chalk't vpon my heart,
- 155 And with a coale writ on my braine, for *Flauia*;
 This houfe is wholly taken vp for *Flauia*.
 Let reafon get a lodging with her wit:
 Vex me no more, I muft haue *Flauia*.
 CRIC. But fir, her brother *Lelio*, vnder whose charge
- 160 Shee's now, after her father's death, fware boldly
Pandolfo neuer fhall haue *Flauia*.
 PAN. His father, ere hee went to *Barbary*,
 Promif'd her me: who be he liue or dead,

- Spight of a Laft of *Lelio's*, *Pandolfo*
 165 Shall enioy *Flauia*. CRIC. Sir y'are too old.
 PAN. I muſt confeſſe in yeares about three ſcore,
 But in tuffe ſtrength of body, foure and twenty,
 Or two monthes leſſe. Loue of yong *Flauia*,
 More powerfull then *Medea's* drugges, renew's
 170 All decay'd parts of man: my Arteryes
 Blowne full with youthfull ſpirits, moue the bloud
 To a new buſineſſe: my withred Neru's grow plumpe
 And ſtrong, longing for action. Hence thou poore prop
 Of feebleneſſe and age: walke with ſuch fires
 175 As with cold palsies ſhake away their ſtrength,
 And looſe their legges with cureleſſe gout. *Pandolfo*
 New moulded is for Reuels, Masks, and Muſick. *Cricca*,
 String my neglected Lute, and from my Armory
 Skowre my beſt ſword, companion of my youth, (water
 180 Without which I ſeeme naked. CRIC. Your loue, fir, like ſtrong
 To a deplor'd ſicke man, quick's your feeble limbs
 For a poore moment. But after one night's lodging
 You'll fall ſo dull and cold, that *Flauia*
 Will ſhrike and leape from bed as from a Sepulchre.
 185 Shall I ſpeake plainer, fir? Shee'l Cuckold you:
 Alas ſhee'le Cuckold you.
 PAN. What mee? a man of knowne diſcretion,
 Of riches, yeares, and this gray grauity?
 I'le ſatisfy'r with gold, rich cloathes and iewels.
 190 CRIC. Wer't not farre fitter vrge your ſon *Eugenio*
 To wooe her for himſelfe? PAN. *Cricca* bee gone,
 Touch no more there: I will and muſt haue *Flauia*.
 Tell *Lelio*, if hee grant m'his ſiſter *Flauia*,
 I'le giue my daughter to him in exchange.
 195 Be gone, and finde mee heere within this halfe houre.

ACT. I. SCEN. 3.

RONCA. PANDOLFO.

RON. **T**Is well that ſervant's gone: I ſhall the eaſier
 Wind vp his maſter to my purpoſes.

B 3

PAN.

- 200 PAN. Sure this some novice of th' Artillery,
That winke's and fhoote: fir, prime your peece anew
The powder's wet: tick. tock. tick. tock.
RON. A good ascendent bleffe me: fir are you frantick?
PAN. Why franticke? are not knockes the lawfull courfes
205 T'open doores and eares? RON. Of vulgar men and houfes.
PAN. Whose lodging's this? is't not th' Astrologers?
RON. His lodging? no: 'tis the learn'd *Phrontisterion*
Of most divine *Albumazar*. PAN. Good fir,
If the doore breake, a better shall redeeme it.
210 RON. How! all your land fold at a hundredth yeares purchase
Cannot repaire th'dammage of one poore rap,
To thunder at the *Phrontisterion*
Of great *Albumazar*? PAN. Why man? what harme:
RON. Sir, you must know my master's heauenly braine
215 Pregnant with mysteries of Metaphisickes,
Growes to an *Embryo* of rare contemplation,
Which at full time brought forth, excel's by farre
The armed fruit of *Vulcan's* Midwifry
That leapt from *Iupiter's* mightie *Cranium*. PAN. What of all this?
220 RON. Thus one of your bold thunders may abortiue
And cause that birth miscarry, that might haue prou'd
An instrument of wonders greater and rarer
Then *Apollonius* the Magitian wrought. (you?
PAN. Are you your Masters Countrey-man? RON. Yes: why aske
225 PAN. Then must I get an Interpreter for your language.
RON. You need not; with a wind instrument my master made,
In fife dayes you may breath ten languages
As perfect as the Divell, or himselfe.
PAN. When may I speake with him?
230 RON. When't please the starres.
He pul's you not a haire, nor pare's a naile,
Nor stirre's a foot without due figuring
The Horoscope: fit downe a while and't please you,
I see the heavens incline to his approach.
235 PAN. What's this I pray you?
RON. An engine to catch starres,

- A mafe t'arrest fuch Planets as haue lurk't
 Foure thoufand yeares vnder protection
 Of *Iupiter* and *Sol*. PAN. Pray you speake English.
- 240 RON. Sir, 'tis a perfpicill, th'best vnder heauen:
 With this Ile read a leafe of that fmall *Iliade*
 That in a wall-nut fhell was desk't, as plainly
 Twelue long miles off, as you fee *Pauls* from *Highgate*.
 PAN. Wonderfull workman of fo rare an Inftrument!
- 245 RON. 'Twill draw the Moone fo neere that you would fweare
 The bufh of thornes in't prick your eyes: the Chryftall
 Of a large Arch multiplie's millions,
 Worke's more then by poynt blanke: and by refractions
 Opticke and ftrange, fearcheth like th'eye of truth,
- 250 All clofets that haue windowes. Haue at *Rome*,
 I fee the Pope, his Card'nals and his mule,
 The *Englifh* Colledge and the Iefuits,
 And what they write and doe. PAN. Let me fee too.
- RON. So farre you can not: for this glaffe is fram'd
- 255 For eyes of thirty: you are nigh threefcore.
 But for fome fifty miles 'twill ferue you,
 With helpe of a refractiue glaffe that's yonder.
 For triall fir: where are you now? PAN. In *London*.
 RON. Ha you found the glaffe within that chamber? PAN. Yes.
- 260 RON. What fee you?
 PAN. Wonders, wonders: I fee as in a Land-fhappe
 An honorable throng of noble perfons,
 As cleare as I were vnder the fame roofe.
 Seemes by their gracious browes, and courteous lookes
- 265 Something they fee, which if t b'indifferent
 They'l fau'rably accept: if otherwife
 They'l pardon: who, or what they be, I know not. (elfe?
- RON. Why that's the court at *Cambridge* forty miles hence, what
 PAN. A Hall thruft full of bare-heads, fome bald, fome bufht,
- 270 Some brauely branch't. RON. That's th'Vniverfity
 Larded with Townes-men. Look you there: what now?
 PAN. Who? I fee *Douer* Peere, a man now landing
 Attended by two Porters that feeme to grone

- Vnder the burthen of two loades of paper.
- 275 RON. That's *Coriatus Persicus*, and's obseruations
Of *Asia* and *Affrick*. PAN. The price. RON. I dare not fel't.
But here's another of a stranger vertue:
The great *Albumazar* by wondrous Art,
In imitation of this *Perfpicill*,
- 280 Hath fram'd an Instrument that multiplies
Obiects of hearing, as this doth of seeing,
That you may know each whisper from *Prester Iohn*
Against the winde, as fresh as 'twere deliuered
Through a trunke, or *Glosters* listning wall.
- 285 PAN. And may I see it sir? blesse me once more.
RON. 'Tis somthing ceremonious; but you shall try't.
Stand thus. What heare you? PAN. Nothing Ro. Set your hands
That th'vertex of the Organ may perpendicularly (thus
Point out our Zenith. What heare you now? ha, ha, ha.
- 290 PAN. A humming noyse of laughter. Ro. Why that's the Court
And Vniuersitie, that now are merry
With an old gentleman in a Comædy. What now?
PAN. Celestiall musicke, but it seemes farre off.
Lift, lift, tis neerer now. Ro. 'Tis musick twixt the Acts. What now?
- 295 PAN. Nothing. RON. And now?
PAN. Musicke againe, and strangely delicate.
O most Angelicall! they sing! RON. And now?
- Sing sweetly, that our notes may cause
The heauenly Orbes themselues to pause:
300 And at our musick stand as still
As at Ioue's amorous will.
So now release them as before,
Th'haue waited long enough, no more.*
- PAN. 'Tis gone, giue mee't againe.—O do not fo.
- 305 RON. What heare you now? PAN. No more then a dead Oyfter.
O let me see this wondrous instrument.
RON. Sir, this is cal'd an *Otaousticon*. PAN. A *Cousticon*?
Why 'tis a paire of Affes eares, and large ones.
RON. True: for in such a forme the great *Albumazar*
- 310 Hath fram'd it purposely, as fit't receiuers

Of founds, as spectacles like eyes for sight.

PAN. What gold will buy't? Ro. Il'e felt you when 'tis finish't:
As yet the Epiglottis is vnperfect.

PAN. 'Soone as you can, and here's ten crownes in earnest.

315 For when 'tis done, and I haue purchas'd it,
I meane t'intail't on my heires male for euer,
Spight of the ruptures of the common law.

RON. Nay rather giu't to *Flauia* for her ioncture:
For shee that marries you, deserues it richly.

320

ACT. I. SCEN. 4.

CRICCA. PANDOLFO. RONCA.

CRIC. **S**Ir, I haue spoke with *Lelio*, and he answer's.

PAN. Hang *Lelio*, and his answer's. Come hither *Cricca*,
Wonder for me, admire, and be astonisht,
325 Marvaile thy selfe to Marble at these engines,
These strange *Gorgonian* instruments. CRI. At what?

PAN. At this rare Perispicill and Otacousticon.

For with these two Il'e heare and see all secrets,
Vndo intelligencers. Pray let my man see

330 What's done in Rome: his eyes are iust as your's are.

RON. *Pandolfo*, are you mad? be wise and secret:

See you th'steepe danger you are tumbling in?

Know you not that these instruments haue power
T'vnlocke the hidden't closets of whole states?

335 And you reueale such mysteries to a seruant?

Sir be advis'd, or else you learne no more

Of our vnknowne Philosophy. PAN. Inough.

What newes from *Lelio*? shall I haue his sister?

CRI. He sweares and vowes he neuer will consent.

340 She shall not play with worne antiquities,

Nor lye with snow, and statues; and such replies
That I omit for reverence of your worship.

PAN. Not haue his sister? *Cricca* I will haue *Flauia*,
Maugre his head: by meanes of this Astrologer

- 345 I'le enioy *Flauia*. Are the starres yet inclin'd
 To his diuine approach? Ro. One minute brings him.
 CRI. What Strologer? PAN. The learned man I told thee,
 Th high Almanacke of *Germany*, an *Indian*
 Farre beyond *Trebesond* and *Tripoli*,
 350 Clofe by the worlds end: a rare Coniurer,
 And great Astrologer. His name, pray fir?
 RON. *Albumazarro Meteoroscopico*.
 CRI. A name of force to hang him without tryall.
 PAN. As hee excels in Science, so in Title.
 355 Hee tels of loft plate, horfes, and strayd cattell
 Directly, as hee had stolne them all himselfe.
 CRI. Or hee, or some of his confederates.
 PAN. As thou respects thy life, looke to thy tongue,
Albumazar has an *Otaousticon*.
 360 Bee silent, reuerent, and admire his skill,
 See what a promising countenance appeares:
 Stand still and wonder, wonder and stand still.

ACT. I. SCEN. 5

ALBUMAZAR. RONCA, PANDOLFO, CRICCA.

- 365 ALB. *Ronca*, the bunch of planets new found out
 Hanging at th'end of my best Perfpicill,
 Send them to *Galilæo* at *Padua*;
 Let him bestow them where hee please. But th'starres
 Lately discouered 'twixt the hornes of *Aries*,
 370 Are as a present for *Pandolfo's* marriage,
 And henceforth stil'd *Sidera Pandolfæa*.
 PAN. My marriage *Cricca!* hee foresee's my marriage:
 O most Celestiall *Albumazar!*
 CRI. And fends y'a present from the head of *Aries*.
 375 ALB. My Almanacke made for th'meridian
 And height of *Iapan*, giu't th'East Indy company:
 There may they smel the price of Cloues and Pepper,
 Munkies and China-dishes fve yeares ensuing;

And

- And know th'fucceffe o'th voyage of *Magores*.
 380 For in the volume of the Firmament
 Wee children of the starres reade things to come,
 As cleerely as poore mortals stories past
 In *Speed* or *Hollinghead*. Ro. The perpetual motion
 With a true larum in't to run twelue houres
 385 'For *Mahomets* returne. ALB. Deliuer it safe
 T'a *Turkie* Factor, bid him with care present it
 From mee to th'house of *Ottoman*. Ro. I will fir.
 CRI. Pray you stand here, and wonder now for mee,
 Be astonish't at his *Gorgon*, for I cannot.
 390 PAN. Vpon my life he proues a meere Impostor.
 Peace, not a word, be silent and admire.
 ALB. As for the Issue of th'nezt Summers warres,
 Reueal't to none, keep't to thy selfe in secret,
 As touch-stone of my skill in Prophecie. Be gone. RON. I goe fir.
 395 ALB. Signior *Pandolfo*, I pray you pardon me,
 Exoticall dispatches of great consequence
 Staid me; and casting the Nativitie
 O'th *Cham* of *Tartary*, and a priuate conference
 With a Mercuriall intelligence.
 400 Y'are welcome in a good houre, better minute,
 Best second, happiest third, fourth, fift, and scruple.
 Let the twelue houses of the Horoscope
 Be lodg'd with fortitudes, and fortunates,
 To make you blest in your designs *Pandolfo*.
 405 PAN. Wer't not much trouble to your starry imployments,
 I a poore mortall would intreat your furtherance
 In a terrestriall bufinesse. ALB. My Ephemeris lies,
 Or I fore-see your errant: thus 'tis, thus.
 You had a neighbour cal'd *Antonio*,
 410 A widdower like your selfe, whose onely daughter
Flauia, you loue, and hee as much admir'd
 Your child *Sulpitia*. Is not this right?
 PAN. Yes fir: O strange! *Cricca* admire in silence.
 ALB. You two decreed a counter-match betwixt you,
 415 And purpos'd to truck daughters. Is't not so?

- PAN. Iust as you say't. *Cricca* admire and wonder.
 CRI. This no such secret: looke to your selfe, hee'l cheate you.
 ALB. *Antonio* after this match concluded,
 Hauing great summes of gold in *Barbary*,
 420 Defires of you before he consummate
 The rites of matrimony, hee might goe thither,
 For three months; but as now 'tis three and three
 Since he imbark't, and is not yet return'd.
 Now fir your businesse is to me, to know
 425 Whether *Antonio* be dead or liuing.
 I'll tell you instantly. PEN. Haft thou reveal'd it?
 I told it none but thee. CRI. Not I. PAN. Why stare you?
 Are you not well? ALB. I wander 'twixt the Poles
 And heau'nly hinges, 'mongst excentricalls,
 430 Centers, concentrickes, circles, and epicycles,
 To hunt out an aspect fit for your businesse.
 CRI. Meane ostentation! for shame awake your selfe.
 ALB. And since the lampe of heauen is newly entred
 To *Cancer*, old *Antonio* is starke dead,
 435 Drown'd in the sea stone dead: for *radius directorius*
 In the sixt house; and th'waning moone by *Capricorn*,
 Hee's dead, hee's dead. CRI. 'Tis an ill time to marry.
 The Moone growes fork't, and walks with *Capricorne*.
 PAN. Peace foole: these words are full of mysteries.
 440 ALB. What ominous face, and dismall countenance
 Mark't for disasters, hated of all the heauens,
 Is this that followes you? PAN. He is my seruant,
 A plaine and honest speaker, but no harme in him.
 CRI. What see you in my face?
 445 ALB. Horror and darknesse, death and gallowfes,
 I'de sweare th'wert hang'd, stood't thou but two foote higher.
 But now thy starres threaten a neerer death.
 Sir, fend to toale his knell. PAN. What is he dead?
 ALB. He shall be by the dint of many stabs:
 450 Onely I spy a little hope of scaping
 Thorough the clouds, and foule aspects of death,
 CRI. Sir, pray giue no credit to this cheater,

Or with his words of Art hee'le make you dote
As much on his fain'd skill, as on faire *Flauia*.

455

ACT. I. SCEN. 6.

HARPAX. FVRBO. ALBUM. PANDOLFO.
CRICCA.

HAR. **S**Tay Villaine, stay, though safety't selfe defends thee
Thou dieft. FVR. Come do thy worst, thrust sure, or die.
460 CRIC. For heau'n fake Gentlemen stay your hands, help, helpe.
Help *Albumazar*. HARP. Thus to the hinderer
Of my reuenge. CRIC. Saue me *Albumazar*.
FVRB. And thus, and thus, and thus. CRI. Maister I die, I dye.
HARP. Flieft thou base coward? 'tis not thy heeles can saue thee.

465

ACT. I. SCEN. 7.

ALBUM. PAND. CRI.

CRIC. **O**h! PAN. What ailes thee *Cricca*? CRI. I am dead, I
Trouble your selfe no more. PA. What dead & speakst?
470 CRIC. Onely there's left a little breath to tell you.
PAN. Why, where art hurt? CRI. Stab'd with a thousand daggers,
My heart, my lights, my liuer, and my skin,
Pearst like a fiue. PAN. Here's not a wound, stand vp,
'Tis but thy feare. CRIC. 'Tis but one wound all ouer.
475 Softly, ô softly: y'haue lost the truest seruant; Farewell I die.
ALB. Liue by my curtesie, stand vp and breath.
The dangerous and malignant influence is past:
But thank my charity that put by the blowes,
The least of which threatned a dozen graues.
480 Now learne to scoffe diuine Astrologie,
And flight her seruants. CRI. A Chirurgion, good fir, a Surgeon.
ALB. Stand vp man, th'haft no harme, my life for thine.
PAN. Th'art well, th'art well. CRI. Now I perceiue I am:
I pray you pardon me Diuine Astrologer.

- 485 ALB. I do, but hence-forth laugh at Astrologie
And call her seruants Cheaters.
PAN. Now to our bufineffe: on good *Albumazar*.
ALB. Now fince the Moone paffeth from *Capricorne*,
Through *Aquarius* to the watry Signe of *Pifces*,
490 *Antonio's* drown'd, and is deuour'd by filhes.
PAN. Is't certaine? ALB. Certaine. PAN. Then let my earnestnes
Intreate your skill a fauour. ALB. It fhall, but firft
I'll tell you what you meane to aske me. PA. Strange!
ALB. *Antonio* dead that promis'd you his daughter,
495 Your bufineffe is t'entreate mee raife his ghoft,
And force it ftay at home til't haue perform'd
The promife paff, and fo returne to reft.
PAN. That, that, y'haue hit it moft diuine *Albumazar*.
ALB. 'Tis a hard thing; for *de priuatione ad habitũ non datur regressus*.
500 O what a bufineffe! what a maifter peece
'Tis to raife vp his Ghoft, whose bodie's eaten
By fifh. This work defires a Planetary intelligence
Of *Iupiter* and *Sol*, and thefe great Spirits,
Are proud, phantafticall: It ask's much charges,
505 T'entice them from the guiding of their Spheares (no coft.
To waite on mortals. PAN. So I may haue my purpofe, fpare for
ALB. Sir, fpare your purfe, wee'l do't an eafier way.
The worke fhall coft you nothing.
We haue an Art is cal'd *Præftigiatory*,
510 That deales with fpirits, and intelligences
Of meaner office and condition,
Whofe feruice craue's fmall charges: with one of thefe
I'll change fome feruant, or good friend of yours
To th'perfect fhape of this *Antonio*:
515 So like in face, behauiour, fpeech, and action,
That all the Towne fhall fweare *Antonio* liues.
PAN. Moft Necromanticall Astrologer,
Do this, and take mee for your feruant euer.
And for your paines, after the tranfformation
520 This chaine is your's, it coft two hundred pound
Beside the iewell. AL. After the work is finifh't, then—how now?

What

What lines are these that looke fanguineous?

As if the Starres coniur'd to do you mischief?

PAN. How? meane you mee? ALB. They'r dusky marks of *Saturne*.

525 It seemes some stone shall fall vpon your head,
Threatning a fracture of the *Pericranium*.

PAN. *Cricca* come hither, fetch me my staffe againe,

Three-score and ten's return'd: A generall Palfie

Shakes out the loue of *Flauia* with a feare.

530 Is there no remedy? ALB. Nothing but patience.

The Planet threatens so, whose prey you are.

The Starres and Planets daily warre together.

For should they stand at truce but one halfe houre

This wondrous Machin of the world would ruin.

535 Who can withstand their powrefull influence?

PAN. You with your wisedome, good *Albumazar*.

ALB. Indeed th' *Ægyptian Ptolomee* the wise,

Pronounst it as an Oracle of truth; *Sapiens dominabitur astris*.

Who's aboue there? *Ronca* bring downe the cap

540 Made in the point of *Mercury* being ascendent:

Here put it on, and in your hand this Image,

Fram'd on a Tuesday when the fierce God of warre

Mounted th' horizon in the signe of *Aries*.

With these walke as vnwounded as *Achilles*,

545 Dip't by his mother *Thetis*. PAN. You bind mee to your seruice.

ALB. Next get the man you purpose to transforme

And meete mee heere. PAN. I will not faile to finde you.

ALB. Meane while with *Sciofericall* instrument,

By way of *Azimuth* and *Almicantarath*

550 I'll seeke some happy point in heauen for you.

PAN. I rest your seruant, sir. AL. Let all the Starres

Guide you with most propitious influence.

ACT. I. SCEN. 8.

PANDOLFO. CRICCA.

555 PAN. **H**Eere's a strange man indeed, of skill profound:
How right hee knew my businesse, 'fore hee saw mee,

And

And how thou skoft's him when we talk't in priuate.
Tis a braue instrument his *Otacoufficon*.

CRIC. In earnest fir I tooke him for a Cheater;

560 As many, vnder name of cunning men
With promise of Astrology, much abuse
The gaping vulgar, wronging that sacred skill,
That in the Starres reads all our actions.

PAN. Is there no arches o're our heads, looke *Cricca*.

565 CRI. None but the Arch of heauen, that cannot fall.

PAN. Is not that made of Marble? I haue read
A stone drop't from the Moone: And much I feare
The fit should take her now, and void an other.

CRI. Feare nothing fir, this charm'd *Mercuriall* cap
570 Shields from the fall of Mountaines: 'tis not a stone
Can check his Art, walke boldly. PAN. I do, let's in.

Finis Act. I.

Act. 2. Scæn. I.

TRINCALO. ARMELLINA.

575 TRINCALA.

HEE that faith I am not in loue, hee lies *De cap à pe*; For I
am idle, choicely neate in my cloathes, valiant, and extreme
witty: My meditations are loded with metaphors, and my
songs sonnets: Not a one shakes his taile, but I figh out a
580 passion: thus do I to my Mistresse; but alas I kisse the dogge, and
shee kicks mee. I neuer see a yong wanton Filly, but, say I, there
goe's *Armellina*; nor a lusty strong Ass, but I remember my selfe,
and sit downe to confider what a goodly race of Mules would
inherit, if she were willing: onely I want vtterance, and that's a
585 maine marke of loue too. ARM. *Trincalo. Trincalo.*

TRINC. O 'tis *Armellina*: now if she have the wit to beginne, as
I meane shee should, then will I confound her with complements

drawne

drawne from the Plaies I see at the Fortune, and Red Bull, where I learne all the words I speake and vnderstand not.

590 ARM. *Trincalo*, what price beare's wheate, and Saffron, that your band's so stiffe and yellow? not a word? why *Trincalo*! what bufineffe in Towne? how do's all at Totnam? growne mute? What do you bring from the Country?

TRIN. There 'tis. Now are my floud-gates drawne, and I'le furround her. What haue I brought sweete bit of beauty? a hundreth thousand salutations o'th' elder house to your most illustrious Honour and Worship.

ARM. To me these Titles? is your basket full of nothing else?

600 TRIN. Full of the fruites of loue, most resplendent Lady; a present to your worthines from your worship's poore vassaile *Trincalo*.

ARM. My life on't, hee scrap't these complements from his Cart, the last Load hee carried for the Progresse. What ha you read that make you grow so eloquent?

605 TRI. Sweete Madame, I read nothing but the lines of your Ladiships countenance, and desire onely to kisse the skirts of your garment, if you youchsafe mee not the happineffe of your white hands.

ARM. Come, giue's your basket and take it.

610 TRI. O sweete! now will I neuer wash my mouth after, nor breath but at my nostrils, least I loose the tast of her fingers. *Armellina*, I must tell you a secret if you'le make much on't.

ARM. As it deferu's: what is't?

615 TRIN. I loue you, deere morfell of modesty, I loue: and so truely, that I'le make you Mistres of my thoughts, Lady of my reuenewes, and commit all my moueables into your hands, that is, I giue you an earnest kisse in the high way of Matrimony.

ARM. Is this the end of all this bufineffe?

TRIN. This is the end of all bufineffe, most beautifull, and most worthy to be most beautifull Lady.

620 ARM. Hence foole, hence.

TRIN. Why now she knowes my meaning, let it worke: Shee put vp the fruite in her lappe, and threw away the basket: 'Tis a plaine signe, shee abhorr's the words, and embraces the meaning: O lippes, no lippes, but leaues besmear'd with mel-dew!

625 ô dew no dew, but drops of Hony combs! ô combs no combs, but
fountaines full of teares! ô teares no teares, but —

ACT. 2. SCEN. 2.

PANDOLFO. TRINCALO.

PAN. 630 **C***Ricca* denie's mee; no perfwasions,
Proffers, rewards, can worke him to transforme.
Yonder's my Country Farmer *Trincalo*.
Neuer in fitter time good *Trincalo*.

TRI. Like a leane horfe t'a fresh and lusty Pasture.

PAN. What rent do'ft pay me for thy Farme at *Totnam*?

635 TRI. Ten pound; and find't too deere a peny-worth.

PAN. My hand here: take it rent-free for three liues,
To serue me in a bufineffe I'le employ thee.

TRI. Serue you? I'le serue, referue, conferue, preferue,
Deferue you for th' one halfe: ô *Armellina*,

640 A Ioincture, hai a Ioincture! what's your employment?

PAN. Here's an Astrologer has a wondrous secreet
To transforme men to other shapes, and persons.

TRIN. How? transforme things to men? I'le bring nine Taylors
Refus'd last Muster, shall giue fwe Markes a peece

645 To shape three men of seruice out of all,
And grant him th'remnant shreds aboue the bargaine.

PAN. Now if thou'lt let him change thee, take this Lease;
Drawne ready; put what liues thou pleasest. TRI. Stay, Sir.
Say I am transform'd; who shall enioy the Lease?

650 I? or the person I must turne to. PAN. Thou,
Thou. The resemblance last's but one whole day:
Then home true Farmer, as thou wer't before.

TRIN. Where shall poore *Trincalo* be? how's this, transform'd?
Transmuted? how? not I; I loue my selfe

655 Better then so: there's your Lease. I'de not venter
For th'whole Fee-simple. PAN. Tell me the difference
Betwixt a foole and wise man. TRI. 'Faith as much

- As twixt your Worship and my selfe. PAN. A wife man
 Accept's all faire occasions of aduancement,
 660 Flye's no commodity for feares of danger,
 Venter's and gaines, liues easily, drinkes good wine,
 Fare's neatly, 's richly cloath'd, in worthiest company;
 While your poore foole and Clowne, for feare of peril,
 Sweat's hourelly for a dry browne cruft to bed-ward,
 665 And wake's all night for want of moysture. TRI. Well, fir,
 I'de rather starue in this my loued Image,
 Then hazard thus my life, for others lookes.
 Change is a kind of death, I dare not try it.
 PAN. 'Tis not so dangerous as thou tak'st it; wee'l only
 670 Alter thy count'nance for a day. Imagine
 Thy face mask't onely: or that thou dream'st all night
 Thou wer't apparell'd in *Antonio's* forme,
 And waking find'st thy selfe true *Trincalo*.
 TRI. T' *Antonio's* forme? was not *Antonio* a Gentleman?
 675 PAN. Yes, and my neighbour, that's his house. TRIN. O ho!
 Now do I smell th'Astrologer's tricke: hee'l steepe mee
 In souldiers bloud; or boyle me in a Chaldron
 Of Barbarous Law French: Or annoint me ouer
 With supple oyle of great men's seruices.
 680 For these three meanes raise Yeomen to the Gentry.
 Pardon me fir: I hate these medcines. Fy!
 All my posterity will smell and tast on't
 'Long as the house of *Trincalo* endures.
 PAN. Ther's no such busines, thou shalt't only seeme fo
 685 And thus deceiue *Antonio's* family.
 TRI. Are you assur'd? 'twould grieue me to be bray'd
 In a huge Mortar, wrought to paste, and moulded
 To this *Antonio's* mould: Grant I be turn'd: what then?
 PAN. Enter his house, be reuerenc'd by his seruants,
 690 And giue his daughter *Flauia* to me in marriage.
 The circumstances I'll instruct thee after.
 TR. Pray giue me leaue: this fide faies do't, this do not.
 Before I leaue you *Tom Trincalo* take my counsell.
 Thy Mistresse *Armellina* is *Antonios* Mayde,

- 695 And thou in his shape maist possesse her. Turne.
 But if I be *Antonio*, then *Antonio*
 Enioyes that happineffe, not *Trincalo*.
 A pretty trick to make my felfe a Cuckold.
 No, no; there, take your Lease. I'le hang first. Soft,
 700 Be not so cholerick *Thomas*: If I become *Antonio*,
 Then all his riches follow. This faire occasion
 Once vanish't, hope not the like; of a starke Clowne
 I shall appeare speck and span Gentleman.
 A pox of Ploughes, and Carts, and Whips, and Horfes.
 705 Then *Armellina* shall be giuen to *Trincalo*,
 Three hundred Crownes her portion: wee'l get a boy
 And call him *Transformation Trincalo*.
 I'le doo't fir. PA. Art resolu'd? TRIN. Resolu'd? 'tis done:
 With this condition: after I haue giv'n your Worship
 710 My daughter *Flauia*, you shall then moue my Worship
 And much entreate me, to bestow my Maide
 Vpon my felfe, I should say *Trincalo*.
 PAN. Content, and for thy sake will make her portion
 Two hundred Crownes. TRIN. Now are you much deceiu'd
 715 I neuer meant it. PAN. How? TR. I did but iest.
 And yet my hand, I'le do't. For I am mutable
 And therefore apt to change. Come, come fir, quickly,
 Let's to th'Astrologer, and there transforme,
 Reforme, conforme, deforme me at your pleasure.
 720 I loath this Country countnance; dispatch: my skin
 Itch'es like Snakes in Aprill, to be strip't off.
 Quickly, ô quickly, as you loue *Flauia*, quickly.

ACT. 2. SCEN. 3.

ALBVMazar. PAND. RONCA. TRINC.

- 725 ALB. **S**Ignior *Pandolfo*, y'arriue in happiest houre.
 If the seuen Planets were your neereft kindred,
 And all the Constellations your Allies:
 Were the twelue houfes, and the Innes o'th'Zodiack

Your

- Your owne fee-simple; they could nere haue chofen
 730 A fitter place to fauour your defignes.
 For the great Luminaries looke from Hilech,
 And midft of heauen in angles, coniunctions,
 And fortunate aspects of Trine and Sextile,
 Ready to powre propitious influences.
- 735 PAN. Thank's to your power and curt'sie that fo plac'd them.
 This is the man that's ready for the bufineffe.
 ALB. Of a moft happy count'nance, and timber fit
 To fquare to th'gentry: his lookes as apt for changing,
 As he were cou'red with Camæ lions skins.
- 740 TRI. Except my hands; and 'twill be troublefome
 To fit thefe fingers to *Antonio's* gloues.
 PAN. Pray let's about the worke as foone as may be.
 ALB. Firft choofe a large low roome, whose doore's full Eaft,
 Or neere inclining: for th'Orientall quarter's
- 745 Moft bountifull of fauours. PAN. I haue a parler
 Of a great fquare and height, as you defire it.
 ALB. Southward muft looke a wide and fpacious window:
 For howfoeuer *Omar*, *Alchabitus*,
Hali, *Abenezra*, feeme fomewhat to diffent;
- 750 Yet *Zoroaftres*, fonne of *Oromafus*,
Hiarcha, *Brachman*, *Thefpion Gymnefophift*,
Gebir, and *Budda Babylonicus*,
 With all the fubtile *Cabalifts* and *Chaldees*,
 Swear the beft influence: for our metamorphofis
- 755 Stoo pes from the South, or as fome fay, South-eaft.
 PAN. This roome's as fit as you had made't of purpofe.
 TRI. Now doe I feele the calfe of my right legge
 Tingle, and dwindle to th'fmalneffe of a bed-ftaffe.
 Such a fpeech more turns my high fhooes ftrait boots.
- 760 RON. Nere were thofe Authors cited to better purpofe.
 For through that window all *Pandolfo's* treasures
 Muft take their flight and fall vpon my fhoulders.
 ALB. Now if this light meridianall had a large cafement
 That ouer-look't fome vnfrequented alley,
- 765 'Twere much more proper: for th'Intelligences

Are nice and coy, scorn'g to mixe their essence
With throng'd disturbance of crosse multitudes.

RON. Spoken by Art *Albumazar*: a provident setter:
For so shall we receiue what thou hand'st out

770 Free from discovery. But in my conscience
All windowes poynt full South for such a businesse.

PAN. Go to my house, satisfie your curious choyce,
But credit me, this parler's fit, it neighbours
To a blinde Alley, that in busiest tearme-time

775 Feeles not the footing of one passenger.

ALB. Now then declining from *Theourgia*,
Artenosoria, *Pharmacia*, reiecting
Necro-puro-geo-hydro-cheiro-coscinomancy,
With other vaine and superstitious sciences,

780 Wee'l ancor at the Art Prestigiatorie,
That represents one figure for another,
With smooth deceit abusing th'eyes of mortals.

TRI. O my right arme! 'tis alter'd, and me thinkes
Longs for a sword: these words haue flaine a Plow-man.

785 ALB. And since the Moone's the onely Planet changing:
For from the *Neomenia* in feuen dayes
To the *Dicotima*, in feven more to th' *Panfelinum*,
And in as much from *Plenilunium*
Thorow *Dicotima* to *Neomenia*,

790 'Tis she must helpe vs in this operation.

TRI. What townes are these? the strangeness of these names,
Hath scal'd the marks of many a painfull haruest,
And made my new-pil'd fingers itch for dice.

PAN. Deeply confidred wondrous *Albumazar*:

795 O let me kisse those lips that flow with science.

ALB. For by her various lookes she intimates
To vnderstanding foules, that onely she
Hath power t'effect a true formation.

Cause then your parler to be swept carefully,

800 Wash't, rub'd, perfum'd, hang'd round from toppe to bottome
With pure white lunary Tapstry, or needle-worke;
But if'twere cloath of siluer, 'twere much better.

RON.

RON. Good, good! a rich beginning: good! what's next?

ALB. Spread all the floore with finest Holland sheets,

805 And ouer them faire damaske Table-cloathes,

Above all these draw me chaste virgins aprons:

The roome, the worke, and workman must be pure.

TRIN. With virgins aprons? th'whole compasse of this Citie

Can not afford a dozen. RON. So, there's shirts

810 And bands to furnish all on's for a twelve-month.

ALB. An Altar in the midst, loaded with plate

Of silver, Basons, Yewres, Cups, Candlestickes,

Flaggons and Beakers, Salts, Chargers, Casting-bottles.

'Twere not amiss to mixe some Bowles of gold,

815 So they be massie; the better to resemble

The lovely brother-hood of *Sol* and *Luna*.

Also some Diamonds for *Iupiter*.

For by the whitenesse and bright sparkling lustres

We allure th'Intelligences to descend.

820 RON. *Furbo* and I are those Intelligences

That must attend vpon the Magistery.

ALB. Now for the ceremonious sacrifice,

Provide such creatures as the Moone delights in,

Two sucking lambes, white as the Alpine snow:

825 Yet if they haue a mole or two, 'twill passe.

The Moone her selfe wants not her spots. PAN. 'Tis true.

RON. Were they hell-black, wee'd make a shift to eate them.

ALB. White Capons, Pheasants, Pigeons: one little Blacke-bird

Would staine and spoyle the worke. Get severall Wines

830 To quench the holy embers: Rhenish, Greeke wine,

White Muscadell, Sheery, and rich Canarie,

So't be not growne too yellow: for the quicker,

Brisker, and older, the better for these ceremonies.

The more abundance, sooner shall wee finish.

835 For 'tis our rule in such like busineses,

Who spares most, spends most: either this day must doo't,

Or th'reuolution of five hundred yeares

Cannot: so fit are all the heauens to helpe vs.

RON. A thousand thanks, thou'lt make a compleate cheate.

Thus

- 840 Thus loaded with this treasure, cheer'd with wine,
 Strengthned with meate: wee'l carry thee in triumph,
 As the great Generall of our atchieuement.
 PAN. Sir, for rich plate and iewels I haue store,
 But know not how to furnish you with hangings.
- 845 ALB. Cannot you borrow from the shops? foure houres
 Shall render all as faire as you receiu'd it.
 PAN. That can I easily doe. ALB. And heare you fir:
 If you chance meet with boxes of white Comfites,
 Marchpane, dry fucket, Macarouns and diet-bread,
 850 'Twill helpe on well. RON. To furnish out our banquet.
 ALB. I had cleane forgot, we must haue Amber Greece,
 The grayest can be found, some dozen ounces,
 I'le vse but halfe a dram: but 'tis our fashion
 T'offer a little from a greater lumpe.
- 855 PAN. All shall be done with expedition.
 ALB. And when your man's transform'd, the chaine you promis'd.
 PAN. My hand: my deedes shall wait vpon my promise.
 ALB. Lead then with happy foote to view the chamber.
 PAN. I goe fir. *Trincalo* attend vs here,
 860 And not a word on perill of thy life.
 TRIN. Sir, if they kill me Il'e not stirre a foot,
 And if my tongue's puld out, not speake a word.

A C T. 2. S C E N. 4.

T R I N C A L O. C R I C C A.

- 865 TRIN. **O** what a bufineffe 'tis to be transform'd!
 My master talkes of foure and twenty houres,
 But if I mue these Flagges of Yeomanry,
 Guild in the seare, and shine in bloome of gentry,
 'Tis not their Strology, nor Sacrifice,
 870 Shall force mee cast that coat. I'le neuer part with't
 Till I be Shrieve of th'Countie, and in commission
 Of Peace and *Quorum*. Then will I get m'a Clarke,
 A practiz'd fellow, wiser then my Worship.

And

- And dominere amongst my fearefull neighbours,
 875 And feast them bountifully with their owne bribes. CR. *Trincalo!*
 TRI. Weare a gold chaine at euey quarter Sessions,
 Looke big, and graue, and speak not one wise word. CR. *Trincalo!*
 TRI. Examine wenches got with child, and curiously
 Search all the circumstances: haue blank *Mittimusses*
 880 Printed in readinesse; breathe nought but Sirra,
 Rogue, ha? how? hum? Constable looke to your charge.
 Then vouch a Statute and a Latine Sentence,
 Wide from the matter. CR. *Trincalo*. TR. License all Alehoufes,
 Match my sonne *Transformation* t'a knights daughter,
 885 And buy a bouncing Pedigree of a welsh Heralt: and then—
 CRI. What in such serious meditations?
 TRI. Faith no; but building Castles in the aire.
 While th'weather's fit: O *Cricca*, such a businesse!
 CRI. What is't? TRI. Nay soft, th'are secrets of my master.
 890 Lock't in my breast: he has the key at's purse-strings.
 CRI. My masters secret? keep it good Farmer, keep it,
 I would not lend an eare to't if thou'dst hire me. Fare-well.
 TRI. O how it boyles and fwels: if I keep't longer,
 'Twill grow t'impostume in my breast, and choake me, *Cricca*.
 895 CRI. Adieu good *Trincalo*, the secrets of our betters
 Are dangerous, I dare not know't. TRI. But hear'st thou,
 Say I should tell, canst keep't as close as I doe?
 CRI. Yes: but I had rather want it. Adieu. TRI. *Albumazar*.
 CR. Farewell. TR. *Albumazar*. CR. Pre'thee. TR. *Albumazar*
 900 Th'Astrologer hath vnder-tooke to change me
 T'*Antonio's* shape: this done, must I giue *Flauia*
 To my old master, and his maid to *Trincalo*.
 CR. But where's *Pandolfo* and *Albumazar*?
 TR. Gone newly home to choose a chamber fitting
 905 For transmutation: So now my heart's at ease.
 CR. I feare the skill and cunning of *Albumazar*
 With his blacke Art, by whom *Pandolfo* seekes
 To compasse *Flauia*, spight of her brother *Lelio*,
 And his own sonne *Eugenio* that loues her deerely.
 910 I'le loose no time, but find them and reveale

The plot and worke to croffe this accident.

But *Trincalo*, art thou so rash and ventrous

To be transform'd with hazard of thy life?

TRI. What care I for a life, that haue a lease

915 For three? But I am certaine there's no danger in't.

CRI. No danger? cut thy finger and that paines thee;

Then what wil't do to shred and mince thy carkasse,

Bury't in horfe-dung, mould it new, and turne it

T' *Antonio*? and when th'art chang'd, if *Lelio*

920 Smell out your plot, what worlds of punishment

Thou must endure, poore *Trincalo*! The desire

Of gaines abuses thee: be not transform'd.

TRI. *Cricca* thou vnderstandst not: for *Antonio*

Whom I refemble, suffers all: not I.

925 CRI. Yonder they come, I'le hence and haſt to *Lelio*.

ACT. 2. SCEN. 5.

ALBUMAZAR. PANDOLFO. CRICCA.

ALB. **T**He chamber's fit: prouide the plate and hangings,
And other necessaries: giue strict order

930 The roome be cleanf'd, perfum'd, and hang'd, meane while,

With Astralobe, and Meteoroscope,

Il'e finde the *Cuspe* and *Alfridaria*,

And know what Planet is in *Cazimi*.

PAN. All shall be ready fir, as you command it.

935 TRI. Doctor *Albumazar*, I haue a veine of drinking,

And artery of lechery, runs through my body:

Pray when you turne me gentleman, preferue

Those two, if t may be done with reputation.

ALB. Feare not, I'le only call the first, good fellowship,

940 And th'other, ciuill recreation.

TR. And when you come to th'hart, spoyle not the loue of *Armellina*,

And in my braine leaue as much discretion

As may spye falshood in a Tauerne reckoning;

And let me alone for *bounty* to *winke* and pay't.

And

- 945 And if you change me perfectly,
I'll bring y'a dozen knights for customers.
ALB. I warrant thee: fir are you well instructed
In all these necessaries? PAN. Th'are in my table-booke.
ALB. Forget not cloathes for th'new transform'd, and robes
950 For me to sacrifice: you know the fashion.
I'll rather change five, then apparel one:
For men haue liuing foules, cloathes are vnanimate.
PAN. Here take this ring, deliuer it to my brother,
An officer in the Wardrobe, hee'l furnish you
955 With robes and cloathes of any stufte, or fashion.
ALB. *Almuten Alchochoden* of the starres attend you.
PAN. I kisse your hands diuine Astrologer.

ACT. 2. SCEN. 6.

PANDOLFO. TRINCALO.

- 960 PAN. **V**P quickly *Trincalo* to my child *Sulpitia*,
Bid her lay out my fairest Damaske Table-cloathes.
The fairest Holland sheetes, all th'siluer plate,
Two gossip cups of gold: my greatest Diamonds:
Make hast. TR. As fast as *Alchochoden* and *Almuten*
965 Can carry me: for sure these two are Diuels.
PAN. This is that blessed day I so much long'd for:
Foure houres attendance till my man be chang'd,
Fast lockes me in the louely armes of *Flauia*. Away *Trincalo*.
How slow the day slides on! When we desire
970 Times hast, it seemes to loose a match with Lobsters,
And when we wish him stay, he imp's his wings
With feathers plum'd with thought. Why *Trincalo*!
TR. Here fir. PAN. Come let's away for cloath of siluer,
Wine and materials for the Sacrifice.

975 ACT. 2. SCEN. 7.

LELIO. EVGENIO. CRICCA.

LE. *Eugenio*, these are wonders past beliefe.

- Is your old father of so poore a iudgement
 To thinke it in the power of man to turne
 980 One person to another? Ev. *Lelio*, his desire
 T'inioy your sifter *Flauia*, begets hope,
 Which like a waking dreame, makes false apparence
 Liuely as truth it selfe. LE. But who's the man
 That workes these miracles? EvG. An Astrologer.
 985 LE. How deales Astrologie with transmutation?
 CRI. Vnder the vaile and colour of Astrologie,
 He clouds his hellish skill in Necromancie.
 Beleeue it, by some Art, or false imposture,
 Hee'l much disturbe your loue, and yours, *Eugenio*.
 990 LE. *Eugenio*, 'tis high time for vs t'awake.
 And as you loue our *Flauia*, and I
 Your sifter faire *Sulpitia*; let's doe something
 Worthy their beauties. Who falles into a sea
 Swolne bigge with tempest, but he boldly beates
 995 The waues with armes and legges, to saue his life?
 So let vs striue 'gainst troublous stormes of loue,
 With our best power, least after we ascribe
 The losse to our dull negligence, not Fortune.
 Ev. *Lelio*, had I no interest in your sifter,
 1000 The holy league of friendship should command me,
 Besides the seconding *Sulpitia's* loue,
 Who to your noblenesse commends her life.
 LE. She cannot out-loue me, nor you out-friend me,
 For th'sacred name whereof, I haue reiected
 1005 Your fathers offers, importunities,
 Letters, Conditions, Seruants, Friends, and lastly
 His tender of *Sulpitia* in exchange
 For *Flauia*. But though I loue your sifter
 Like mine owne foule; yet did the lawes of friendship
 1010 Master that strong affection; and denied him.
 EvG. Thankes euer, and as long shall my best seruice
 Waite on your will. *Cricca* our hope's in thee,
 Thou must instruct vs. CRI. You must trust in Fortune
 That make's or marr's the wisest purposes.

- 1015 LEL. What fai'ft? What thinkst? CRI. Here's no great need of
Not speech; the oile of scorpions cure's their poison. (thinking
The thing it felfe that's bent to hurt and hinder you
Offer's a remedie: 'tis no fooner knowne
But th'worst on't is preuented. EVG. How good *Cricca*?
- 1020 CRI. Soone as you see this false *Antonio*
Come neere your dores with speeches made of purpose,
Full of humility and compassion:
With long narrations how he scap't from ship-wrack
And other fain'd inuentions of his dangers:
- 1025 Bid him be gone; and if he presse to enter,
Feare not the reuerence of your father's lookes,
Cudgell him thence. LEL. But wer't not better *Cricca*
Keepe him fast lock't, till his owne shape returne,
And so by open course of Law correct him?
- 1030 CRI. No. For my maister would conceiue that counsell
Sprung from my braines: and so should I repent it.
Aduise no more, but home and charge your people,
That if *Antonio* come, they driue him thence
With threatning words, and blowes if need be. LEL. 'Tis done.
- 1035 I kisse your hands *Eugenio*. EVG. Your seruant, sir.

ACT. 2. SCEN. 8.

EVGENIO. CRICCA. FLAVIA.

- EVG. C*Ricca* commend my seruice to my Mistresse.
- 1040 CRI. Commend it t'her your selfe. Mark't you not,
We talk't, how through the window she attended, (while
And fed her eyes on you? there shee's. EVG. 'Tis true.
And as from nights of Stormes the glorious Sunne
Breake's from the East, and chafeth thence the Clouds
That choak't the Aire with horror; so her beauty
- 1045 Dispels sad darknesse from my troubled thoughts,
And cleare's my heart. FLA. Life of my foule well met.
EVG. How is't my deereft *Flauia*? FLA. *Eugenio*,
As best becomes a woman, most vnfortunate.

- That hauing lou'd so long, and beene perfwaded
 1050 Her chaste affection was by your's requited,
 Haue by delays beene famish'd. Had I conceal'd
 Those flames your vertue kindled, then y'had fued,
 Intreated, sworne, and vow'd, and long e're this
 Wrought all meanes possible to effect our marriage.
 1055 But now. EVG. Sweet soule despaire not, weep not thus,
 Vnlesse you wish my heart should life-bloud drop,
 Fast as your eyes do teares. What is't you feare?
 FLA. First that you loue me not. EVG. Not loue my *Flauia*?
 Wrong not your iudgement: rip vp this amorous breft
 1060 And in that Temple see a heart that burne's
 I'th'vestall sacrifice of chastest loue,
 Before your beauties Deity. FLA. If so,
 Whence growes this coldnesse in soliciting
 My brother to the match? EVG. Consider sweetest,
 1065 I haue a father riual in my loue;
 And though no duty, reuerence, nor respect
 Haue power to change my thoughts: yet 'tis not comly
 With open violence to withstand his will;
 But by faire courtes try to diuert his minde
 1070 From disproportioned affections.
 And if I cannot, then nor feare of anger,
 Nor life, nor lands, shall crosse our purposes.
 Comfort your selfe sweet *Flauia*: for your brother
 Second's our hopes with his best seruices.
 1075 FLA. But other feares oppresse mee: mee thinkes I see
Antonio my old father, new return'd,
 Whom all intelligence gaue drown'd this three monthes,
 Enforcing mee to marry th'foole *Pandolfo*,
 Thus to obtaine *Sulpitia* for himselfe.
 1080 And so last night I dream'd, and euer since
 Haue bene so scar'd, that if you haue not (we most desire,
 Expect my death. EVG. Dreames flow from thoughts of things
 Or feare, and seldome proue true Prophets, would they did.
 Then were I now in full possession
 1085 Of my best *Flauia*: as I hope I shall be.

CRIC. Sir, pray take your leaue; this to no end,
'Twill but encrease your griefe and hers. EVG. Farewell
Sweete *Flauia*, rest contented with assurance
Of my best loue and seruice. FLA. Farewell *Eugenio*.

1090

ACT. 2. SCEN. 9.

SULPITIA. FLAVIA.

SVL. **F***Laui*a I kisse your hands.

FLA. *Sulpitia* I pray you pardon mee, I saw you not.

1095

Sv. Ifaith you haue some fix't thoughts draw your eyes inward
when you see not your friends before you.

FLA. True, and I thinke the same that trouble you.

Sv. Then 'tis the loue of a yong Gentleman, and bitter hatred of
an old Dotard.

1100

FLA. 'Tis so, witnesse your brother *Eugenio*, and the rotten Kar-
case of *Pandolfo*. Had I a hundred hearts, I should want roome to
entertaine his loue, and the other's hate.

1105

Sv. I could say as much, were't not sinne to slander the dead.
Miserable wenches, how haue we offended our fathers, that they
should make vs the price of their dotage, the medicine of their
griefes, that haue more need of Physick our selues? I must bee
frost-bitten with the cold of your Dads winter, that mine may
thaw his old ice with the Spring of your fixteene. I thank my dead
mother that left mee a womans will in her last Testament: That's
all the weapons we poore girles can vse, and with that will I fight
'gainst father, friends, and kindred, and either enioy *Lelio*, or dye in
the field in's quarrell.

1110

FLA. *Sulpitia*, you are happy that can withstand your fortune with
so merry a resolution.

1115

Sv. Why? should I twine mine armes to cables, and figh my
soule to Aire? Sit vp all night like a Watching Candle, and distill
my braines through my eye-lids? your brother loues mee, and I
loue your brother; and where these two consent, I would faine see
a third could hinder vs.

FLA.

FLA. Alas, our Sex is most wretched, nurst vp from infancie in
 1120 continuall flauerie. No sooner able to pray for our felues, but they
 brayle and hudde vs so with fowre awe of parents, that wee dare
 not offer to bate at our owne desires. And whereas it becomes men
 to vent their amorous passions at their pleasure; wee poore foules
 1125 must rake vp our affections in the ashes of a burnt heart, not daring
 to figh, without excuse of the Spleene, or fit of the mother.

SVL. I plainly will professe my loue of *Lelio*, 'tis honest, chaste, and
 staines not modesty. Shall I be married to *Antonio*, that hath beene
 a foult Sea-fish, this three months? and if hee bee aliue comes home
 with as many impaires, as a Hunting Gelding fal'n Pack horse.
 1130 No, no, I'le see him freeze to Christall first. In other things, good
 father, I am your most obedient daughter, but in this a pure wo-
 man. 'Tis your part to offer, mine to refuse if I like not. *Lelio's* a
 handsome Gentleman, yong, fresh, rich, and well-fashioned, and him
 will *Sulpitia* haue, or dye a maide: And ifaith the temper of my
 1135 bloud tel's me I was neuer borne to so cold a misfortune. Fye *Flauia*,
 fye wench, no more with teares and sighs, cheere vp, *Eugenio* to
 my knowledge loues you, and you shall haue him: I say you shall
 haue him.

FLA. I doubt not of his loue, but know no meanes, how hee dares
 1140 worke against so great a Riual: your father in a spleene may disin-
 herite him.

SVL. And giue't to whom? has none but him and mee: What
 though he dote a while vpon your beauty; hee will not proue vnna-
 turall to his sonne. Goe to your chamber: my Genius whispers in
 1145 my eare, and sweares this night we shall enioy our loues, and with
 that hope fare-well. FLA. Fare-well *Sulpitia*.

Finis Act. 2.

Act. 3. Scæn. I.

PANDOLFO. CRICCA.

1150 PAN. **W**Hile the Astrologer hew's out *Trincalo*,
 Squaring and framing him t' *Antonio*,
Cricca I'le make thee partner of a thought

That

That some thing troubles me. CRI. Say, fir, what ist?

PAN. I haue no heart to giue *Albumazar*

1155 The chaine I promist him. CRI. Deliuer it me

And I'll present it to him in your name.

PA. 'Thas bene an Aireloome to our house foure hundreth yeares,

And should I leaue it now, I feare good fortune

Would flye from vs, and follow it. CRI. Then giue him

1160 The price in gold. PAN. It comes to a hundred pounds.

And how would that well husbanded grow in time?

I was a foole to promise, I confesse it,

I was too hote and forward in the businesse.

CRIC. Indeed I wondred that your wary thriftinesse

1165 Not wont to drop one peny in a quarter

Idly, would part with such a summe so easily.

PAN. My couetous thrift aimes at no other marke

Then in fit time and place to shew my bounty.

Who giues continually, may want at length

1170 Wherewith to feed his liberality.

But for the loue of my deere *Flauia*

I would not spare my life, much lesse my treasure.

Yet if with honour I can win her cheaper,

Why should I cast away so great summe?

1175 CRI. True: I haue a trick now hatching in my braine

How you may handsomely preferue your credit,

And saue the chaine. PAN. I would gladly do it,

But feare hee vnderstands vs what wee say.

CRI. What can you loose to try't, if it take (good *Cricca*?

1180 There's so much sau'd, if otherwise, nothing lost. PA. What is't

CR. Soone as *Albumazar* come's, loded with newes

Of th' transmutation of your seruant *Trincalo*,

I'll entertaine him here: meane while steale you

Clofely into the roome, and quickly hide

1185 Some speciall peece of Plate: Then runne out amaz'd,

Roaring, that all the Streete may know y'are rob'd.

Next threaten to attach him and accuse him

Before a Iustice, and in th'end agree,

If hee restore the Plate, you'll giue the Chaine,

- 1190 Otherwise not. PAN. But if wee bee difcou'red!
 For by his instruments and familiars
 He can do much. CRI. Lay all the fault on *Trincalo*.
 But here's the maine point. If you can difsemble
 Cunningly, and frame your countenance to expresse
 1195 Pitty and anger, that fo learn'd a man
 Should vse his friend fo bafely: If you can call
 An out-cry well, roare high, and terrible.
 PAN. I'le fetch a cry from th' bottome of my heeles
 But I'le roare loud enough; and thou must fecond mee
 1200 With wonder at the fuddaine accident.
 CRI. But yours is the maine part, for as you play't
 You win or loofe the chaine. PAN. No more, no more, hee comes.

ACT. 3. SCEN. 2.

ALBVM. PAND. CRICCA.

- 1205 ALB. **S**Ignior *Pandolfo*, three quarters of an houre
 Render's your feruant perfectly tranfform'd.
 CR. Is he not wholly chang'd? what parts are wanting?
 AL. *Antonio's* fhape hath cloath'd his bulk and vifage,
 Onely his hands and feete, fo large and callous,
 1210 Require more time to fupple. CRI. Pray you fir
 How long fhall he retain this metamorphofis?
 ALB. The compleate circle of a naturall day.
 CRI. A naturall day? Are any daies vnnaturall?
 ALB. I meane the revolution o'th' firft mover,
 1215 Iuft twice twelue houres, in which periode the rapt motion
 Rowles all the Orbes from Eaft to Occident. (theeues, theeues!)
 PAN. Helpe, helpe, theeues, theeues, neighbours I am rob'd,
 CRI. What a noife make you fir? PAN. Haue I not reafon
 That thus am rob'd, theeues, theeues, call Conftables,
 1220 The Watch, and Sergeants. Friends and Conftables,
 Neighbours I am vndone. CRI. This well begunne
 So hee hold out ftill with a higher ftaine.
 What ailes you fir? PAN. *Cricca* my chamber's fpoild

Of all my hangings, cloathes, and filuer plate.

1225 CRIC. Why this is brauely fain'd; continue fir.

PAN. Lay all the Gold-smithes, Keepers, Marshals, Bayliues.

CRIC. Fye fir, your passion fall's, cry louder, roare

That all the Streete may heare. PAN. Theeues, theeues, theeues!

All that I had is gone, and more then all.

1230 CRIC. Ha, ha, ha: hold out, hold out; lay out a Lyons throate,

A little lowder. PAN. I can cry no longer,

My throate's fore, I am rob'd, I am rob'd, al's gone.

Both my owne treasure, and the things I borrow'd.

Make thou an out-cry, I haue loft my voice:

1235 Cry fire, and then they'l heare thee. CR. good, good, theeues,

What ha you loft? PAN. Wine, Iewels, Table-cloathes,

A cup-boord of rich plate. CRIC. Fye, you'le spoile all.

Now you out-do it. Say but a bowle or two.

PAN. Villaine, I fay al's gone; The room's as cleane

1240 As a wip't Looking-glasse: ôj me, ôj me. (gull mee fure.

CR. What, in good earnest? PA. Foole in accurfed earnest. CR. You

PAN. The window towards the South stand's ope, from whence

Went all my treasure. Where's th'Astrologer?

ALB. Here fir: and hardly can abstaine from laughing

1245 To see you vex your selfe in vaine. PAN. In vaine *Albumazar*?

I left my plate with you, and 'tis all vanish't,

And you shall answer it. ALB. O! were it possible

By powre of Art, to check what Art hath done,

Your man should nere be chang'd: To wrong mee thus

1250 With foule suspection of flat felonie?

Your Plate, your cloath of filuer, wine, and iewels,

Linnen, and all the rest, I gaue to *Trincalo*,

And for more safety, lock't them in the lobby.

Hee'le keepe them carefully. But as you loue your Mistresse

1255 Disturbe him not this halfe houre, least you'le haue him

Like to a Centaure, halfe Clowne, halfe Gentleman.

Suffer his foote and hand that's yet vntouch't,

To be innobled like his other members.

PAN. *Albumazar*, I pray you pardon mee,

1260 Th'vnlook'd-for bareneffe of the roome amaz'd mee.

- ALB. How? thinke you me so negligent to commit
 So rich a masse of treasure to th'open danger
 Of a large casement, and suspicious Alley?
 No fir, my sacrifice no sooner done
 1265 But I wrapt all vp safe, and gaue it *Trincalo*.
 I could be angry, but that your suddaine feare
 Excuses you. Fye, such a noise as this
 Halfe an houre past, had skar'd th'intelligences,
 And spoil'd the worke, but no harme done: go walke
 1270 Westward, directly Westward, one halfe houre:
 Then turne back, and take your seruant turn'd t' *Antonio*.
 And as you like my skill performe your promise.
 I meane the Chaine. PAN. Content. Let's still go Westward,
 Westward good *Cricca*, still directly Westward.

1275

ACT. 3. SCEN. 3.

ALBUM. RONCA. HARPAX. FURBO.

- ALB. **H** *Arpax*, *Furbo*, and *Ronca*, come out, al's cleere,
 Why here's a noble prize worth ventring for.
 Is not this brauer then sneake all night in danger,
 1280 Picking of lockes, or hooking cloathes at windoes?
 Here's plate, and gold, and cloath, and meate and wine,
 All rich: and easly got. *Ronca* stay here about,
 And waite till *Trincalo* come forth: Then call him
 With a low reuerence *Antonio*,
 1285 Giue him this gold with thanks, tell him he lent it
 Before hee went to *Barbary*. RON. How loose ten peeces?
 ALB. There's a necessity in't, deuise some course
 To get't againe: if not; our gaine's sufficient
 To beare that losse. *Furbo* finde out *Bavilona*
 1290 The Curtezan, let her faine her selfe a Gentlewoman
 Inamored of *Antonio*, bid her inuite him
 To banket with her, and by all meanes possible
 Force him stay there two houres. HAR. Why two houres?
 ALB. That in that time thou maist conuey

- 1295 Our treasure to the Inne, and speake a boate
Ready for *Grauesend*, and prouide a supper:
Where, with those pretious liquors, and good meates,
Wee'l cheere our selues; and thus well fed, and merry,
Take Boat by night. FVR. And what will you do?
1300 ALB. Firſt in and vſher out our changeling *Trincalo*:
Then finiſh vp a buſineſſe of great profit,
Begun with a rich Marchant, that admires
My ſkill in Alchymie. I muſt not looſe it.
RON. *Harpax* beſtow the plate, *Furbo* our beards,
1305 Blacke patches for our eyes, and other properties,
And at the time and place meet all at Supper.

ACT. 3. SCEN. 4.

ALBUMAZAR. TRINCALO.

- AL. SStand forth transform'd *Antonio* fully mued
1310 SFrom browne ſoare feathers of dull yeomanry
To th' glorious bloome of gentry; prune your ſelfe flick,
Sweare boldly y'are the man you repreſent
To all that dare deny't. TRI. I finde my thoughts
Moſt ſtrangely altred, but me thinkes my face
1315 Feeles ſtill like *Trincalo*. ALB. You imagine ſo.
Senſes are oft deceiu'd. As an attentiu Angler
Fixing his ſteady eyes on the ſwift ſtreames
Of a ſteepe tumbling torrent, no ſooner turnes
His ſight to land, but giddy, thinkes the firme bankes
1320 And conſtant trees, moue like the running waters:
So you that thirty yeares haue liu'd in *Trincalo*,
Chang'd ſuddenly, think y'are ſo ſtill; but inſtantly
Theſe thoughts will vaniſh. TRI. Giue me a looking-glaſſe
To read your ſkill in theſe new lineaments.
1325 ALB. I'de rather giue you poyſon: for a glaſſe
By ſecret power of croſſe reflections,
And opticke vertue, ſpoiles the wondrous worke
Of transformation, and in a moment turnes you

- Spight of my skill, to *Trincalo*, as before.
 1330 We read that *Apuleius* by a rose
 Chang'd from an Affe to Man: so by a mirrour,
 You'l loose this noble lustre, and turne Affe.
 I humbly take my leaue; but still remember
 T'auoyd the Diuell and a looking glasse.
 1335 New-borne *Antonio*, I kisse your hands.
 TRI. Divine *Albumazar* I kisse your hands.

ACT. 3. SCEN. 5.

TRINCA. RONCA.

- TR. **N**OW am I grown a gentleman, and a fine one,
 1340 I know't by th'kissing of my hands so courtly,
 My courteous knees bend in so true a distance,
 As if my foot walk't in a frame of purpose.
 Thus I accost you: or thus, sweet fir, your seruant:
 Nay more, your seruants seruant: that's your grand-seruant.
 1345 I could descend from th'top of *Pauls* to th'bottom, e,
 And on each step strew parting complements,
 Striue for a doore while a good Carpenter
 Might make a new one. I am your shadow fir,
 And bound to wait vpon you. I'faith I will not: pray fir, &c.
 1350 O braue *Albumazar*!
 RON. Iust *Æsop*'s Crow, prink't vp in borrowed feathers.
 TRI. My veines are fild with newnesse: ô for a Chyrurgian
 To ope this Arme, and view my gentle blood,
 To try if't run two thousand pounds a yeare.
 1355 I feele my vnderstanding is enlarg'd
 With the rare knowledge of this latter age.
 A sacred fury ouer-fwayes me. Prime!
 Deale quickly, play, discard, I set ten shillings six pence.
 You see't? my rest, five and fifty. Boy, more cards;
 1360 And as thou go'st, lay out some roaring oathes
 For me; I'le pay thee againe with interest.
 O braue *Albumazar*!

RON.

RON. How his imagination boyles, and workes in all things
He euer saw or heard! TRI. At gleeke? content.

1365 A morneuall of Afes, gleeke of Knaues,
Iust nine apeece. Sir my gray Barbarie
'Gainst your dun cow, three traine fents and th'course,
For fiftie pound: as I am a gentleman
I'le meet next Cocking, and bring a haggard with me
1370 That stoopes as free as lightning, strikes like thunder.
I lye? my reputation you shall heare on't.
O braue *Albumazar*!

RON. Hee'l grow starke mad I feare me. TR. Now I know
I am perfectly transform'd, my mind incites me
1375 To chalenge some braue fellow for my credit,
And for more safety, get some friend in priuate
To take the businesse vp in peace and quiet.

RON. Signior *Antonio*? TRI. There's not a crum of *Trincalo*.
In all this frame, but th'loue of *Armellina*:
1380 Wer't not for thee I'de trauaile, and home againe
As wife as I went ouer.

RON. Signior *Antonio*? welcome ten thousand times:
Blest be the Heau'ns and seas for your returne.

TRI. I thanke you sir: *Antonio* is your seruant,
1385 I am glad to see you wel. Fy, I kisse your hands: and thus accost you.

RON. This three months all your kindred, friends and children,
Mourn'd for your death. TRI. And so they well might do.

For fise dayes I was vnder water; and at length
Got vp and spred my selfe vpon a chest,
1390 Rowing with armes, and steering with my feet;
And thus in fise dayes more got land: beleue it
I made a most incredible escape,
And safe returne from *Barbarie*: at your seruice.

RON. Welcome ten thousand times from *Barbarie*:
1395 No friend more glad to see *Antonio*
Then I: nor am I thus for hope of gaine;
But that I finde occasion to be gratefull
By your returne. Do you remember sir,
Before you went, as I was once arrested,

And

- 1400 And could not put in baile; you passing by,
Lent me ten pound, and so discharg'd the debt?
TRI. Yes, yes, as well as 'twere but yesterday.
RON. Oft haue I waited at your house with money,
And many thanks: but you were still beyond seas.
- 1405 Now am I happy of this faire occasion
To testifie my honest care to pay you:
For you may need it. TRIN. Sir, I doe indeed,
Witnesse my treasure cast away by shipwracke.
Ro. Here fir. TR. Is the gold good, for mine was good I lent you.
- 1410 Ro. It was, and so is this. Signior *Antonio*, for this curtesie
Call me your seruant. TR. Farewell good seruant, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha.
I know not so much as his name! ten pound? this change is better
then my birth: for in all the yeares of my yeomanry I could neuer
yoke two crownes, and now I haue hearded ten faire twenty shil-
- 1415 ling peeces. Now will I goe to this Astrologer, and hire him turne
my Cart to a Caroch, my foure Iades to two paire of Dutch mares,
my mistres *Armellina* to a Lady, my Plow-boy *Dick* to two guarded
foot-men: then will I hurry my selfe to the Mercers bookes,
weare rich cloathes, be cal'd *Tony* by a great man, sell my lands, pay
- 1420 no debts, hate Citizens, and beate Sergeants: and when all failes,
fneake out of *Antonio* with a two-peny looking-glasse, and turne as
true *Trincalo* as euer.

ACT. 3. SCEN. 6.

HARPAX. TRINCALO.

- 1425 HAR. **S**Ignior *Antonio*, welcome. TRI. My life here's ten pound
Smore. I thanke you heartily.
HARP. Neuer in fitter season could I finde you.
If you remember fir, before you went
To *Barbary*, I lent you ten pound in gold.
- 1430 TRIN. Faith I remember no such thing, excuse me.
What may I call your name? HARP. My name is *Harpax*,
Your friend and neighbour, of your old acquaintaince,
TRIN. What *Harpax*! I am your seruant, I kisse your hands:

You

- You must excuse me, you neuer lent me money.
 1435 HAR. Sir, as I liue, ten twenty-shilling peeces.
 TRI. Dangers at Sea, I find, haue hurt my memory.
 HAR. Why here's your owne hand-writing seal'd and sign'd,
 In prefence of your Cosen *Iulio*.
 TRI. 'Tis true, 'tis true; but I sustain'd great losses
 1440 By reason of the shipwracke. Here's five peeces,
 Will that content you? and to morrow morning
 Come to my house and take the rest. HAR. Well fir,
 Though my necessity would importune you
 For all, yet on your worships word, the rest
 1445 I'll call for in the morning. Farewell *Antonio*,
 TRI. I see we gentlemen can sometime borrow
 As well as lend, and are as loath to pay
 As meaner men. I'll home, lest other creditors
 Call for the rest.

1450 ACT. 3. SCEN. 7.

RONCA. TRINCALO.

- RON. **S**ignior *Antonio*? I saw you as you landed,
 And in great hast follow'd to congratulate
 Your safe returne, with these most wish't embraces.
 1455 TRI. And I accept your ioy with like affection.
 How do you call your selfe? RON. Haue you forgot
 Your deere friend *Ronca*, whom you lou'd so well?
 TRI. O I remember now my deere friend *Ronca*.
 RON. Thanks to the fortune of the seas that sau'd you.
 1460 TRI. I feare I owe him money: how shall I shift him?
 How do's your body *Ronca*? RON. My deere *Antonio*,
 Neuer so well as now I haue the power
 Thus to embrace my friend, whom all th'Exchange
 Gaue drown'd for three whole months. My deere *Antonio*.
 1465 TR. I thank you fir. RO. I thank you. TR. While my deere *Ronca*
 Clipt me, my purse shooke dangerously; yet both his armes
 And hands embrac'd my necke: here's none behinde me,

- How can this be? RON. Most deare *Antonio*,
 Was not your passage dangerous from *Barbarie*?
 1470 We had great windes and tempests; and I feare me,
 You felt the force at sea. TRI. Yes dearest *Ronca*.
 How's this? I see his hands, and yet my purse is gone.
 Ro. Signior *Antonio*, I see your mind's much troubled
 About affaires of worth; I take my leaue,
 1475 And kisse your hands of liberalitie.
 TRI. And kisse my hands of liberalitie?
 I gaue him nothing: O my purse, my purse!
 Deare master *Ronca*. RON. What's your pleasure sir?
 TR. Shew me your hand. Ro. Here 'tis. TR. But wheres th'other?
 1480 RON. Why here. TRI. But I meane where's your other hand?
 RON. Thinke you me the Giant with a hundred hands?
 TR. Giue me your right. Ro. My right? TR. Your left. Ro. My left?
 TR. Now both. RON. There's both my deere *Antonio*:
 Keepe your selfe darke, eate broath; your fearefull passage,
 1485 And want of naturall rest hath made you franticke.
 TRI. Villaine, rogue, cut-purse, theefe, deare *Ronca* stay: hee's gone
 I'th Diuels name, how could this fellow do it?
 I felt his hands fast lock't about my necke;
 And still he spoke, it could not be his mouth:
 1490 For that was full of deere *Antonio*.
 My life he stol't with's feet: such a tricke more
 Will worke worfe with me then a looking-glasse.
 To loose fife pounds in curt'fie, and the rest
 In salutation! RON. Signior *Antonio*,
 1495 What ailes you? TRI. *Ronca* a rogue, a cut-purse,
 Hath rob'd mee of fife twenty-shilling peeces.
 RON. What kind of man was he? something like me?
 TRI. 'Had such a theeuish countenance as your owne,
 But that he wore a black patch ore his eye.
 1500 RON. Met you with *Ronca*? 'tis the cunningst nimmer
 Of the whole company of cut-purse hall.
 I am forry I was not here to warne you of him.

ACT.

ACT. 3. SCEN. 8.

FURBO. BEVILONA. TRINCALO.

1505 BE. **F***Vrbo* no more, vnlesse thy words were charmes
Of power to reuiue him: *Antonio's* dead.

Hee's dead, and in his death hath buried
All my delights: my eares are deafe to musicke
That sounds of pleasure: sing then the doleful'ft notes

1510 That er'e were fet by melancholy: O *Antonio!*

Furbo sings this song.

*Flow streames of liquid salt from my sad eyes,
To celebrate his mournfull exequies.*

1515 *Antonio's dead, hee's dead, and I remaine
To draw my poore life in continuall paine,
Till it haue paid to his sad memory
Dutie of loue: ô then most willingly
Drown'd with my teares, as hee with waues, I dye.*

BE. Breake thy sad strings, and instrument: O strange! hee's here.

1520 Signior *Antonio!* my heart's sweet content!

My life and better portion of my foule!
Are you return'd? and safe? for whose sad death
I spent such streames of teares, and gusts of sighes?
Or is't my loue, that to my longing fancy

1525 Frames your desired shape, and mockes my senses?

TRI. Whom do you talke withal faire gentlewoman?

BE. With my best friend, commander of my life,
My most belou'd *Antonio.* TRI. With me?
What's your desire with me sweet Lady?

1530 BE. Sir to command me, as you haue done euer,

To what you please: for all my libertie
Lies in your seruice. TRI. Now I smell the businesse.
This is some gentlewoman inamored

With him whose shape I beare: Fie, what an Affe

1535 Was I to strange my selfe, and loose th'occasion
Of a good banquet, and her companie?

Il'e mend it as I can. Madame I did but iest

- To try if absence cauf'd you to forget
 A friend that lou'd you euer. BEV. Forget *Antonio*,
 1540 Whose deare remembrance doth informe the foule
 Of your poore feruant *Beuilona*? no,
 No, had you dy'd, it had not quench't one sparke
 Of th'sweet affection which your loue hath kindled
 In this warme breast. TRI. Madam, the waues had drown'd mee.
 1545 But that your loue held vp my chin. BEV. Wil't please you
 Enter, and rest your selfe, refresh the wearinesse
 Of your hard trauell: I haue good wine and fruits,
 My husband's out of towne: you shall command
 My house, & all that's in't. TR. Why are you married?
 1550 BE. Haue you forgot my husband? an angry roarer?
 TR. O I remember him: but if he come?
 BE. Whence growes this feare? how come you so respectfull?
 You were not wont be numb'd with such a coldnesse.
 Go in sweet life, go in.
 1555 TRIN. O! I remember while I liu'd in *Barbary*
 A pretty song the Moores sing to a gridiron:
 Sweet Madame by your fauour I'le sing't to this.
Alcoch Dolash, &c. Thus 'tis in English
My heart in flames doth fry
 1560 *Of thy beauty,*
While I
Dy.
Fy?
And why
 1565 *Shouldst thou deny*
Me thy sweet company?
My braines to teares do flow
While all below
Doth glow.
 1570 *O!*
Foe
If so,
How canst thou go
About to say me no?

- 1575 This the Moores call two wings vpon a Gridiron.
 But it goes sweeter farre 'oth' iron Instrument.
 BEV. There's one within my Kitchin ready strung: go in.
 TRI. Sweete Lady pardon mee, I'll follow you.
 Happy *Antonio* in so rare a Mistresse!
 1580 But happier I, that in his place enioye her:
 I say still, there's no pleasure like Transforming.

ACT. 3. SCEN. 9.

RONCA. BEVIL. TRINCALO.

- RON. **N**OW is the Assie expecting of a banquet,
 1585 Ready to court, embrace, and kisse his Mistresse.
 But I'll soone staue him. Tick, tock, what ho!
 BEV. Who's that so boldly knocks? I am not within;
 Or busy: Why so importunate? who is't? RON. 'Tis I. (Roger, &c.
 BE. Your name? RON. *Thomas* vp *William*, vp *Morgan*, vp *Dauie*, vp
 1590 TRI. *Spinola's* Campe's broke loose: a troupe of Souldiers!
 BEV. Oj me! my Husband! Oj me wretch, 'tis my Husband.
 TRI. One man, and weare so many names! BEV. O fir,
 'Has more out-ragious deuils in his rage,
 Then names. As you respect your life, auoide him.
 1595 Downe at that window. TR. 'Tis as high as Paules.
 Open the Garden dore. BEV. He 'has the keyes.
 Downe at some window, as you loue your life,
 Tender my honour, and your safety. RON. *Beuilon*?
 Downe, or I'll breake the dores, and with the splinters
 1600 Beate all thy bones to peeces: Downe you whore!
 BEV. Be patient but a little; I come instantly.
 TRI. Ha'you no trunck nor chest to hide mee? BE. None fir.
 Alas I am cleane vndone, it is my Husband.
 RON. Doubtlesse, this whore hath some of her companions
 1605 That wrong mee thus. But if I catch the villaine,
 Il'e bath my hungry sword, and sharpe reuenge,
 In his heart-bloud. Come downe. BEV. I cannot stay.
 There stands an empty Hogthead with a false bottome

- To ope and fhut at pleafure: come hither, in,
 1610 In, as you loue your life. TRI. But heare you Madam,
 Is there no looking-glaffe within't, for I hate glaffes
 As naturally, as fome do Cats, or Cheefe.
 BEV. In, in, there's none. Ro. Who now? Is the Affe paf?
 BEV. I tunn'd him vp, ha, ha, ha, I feare hee'le fall aworking.
 1615 RON. Second me hanfomely, wee'le entertaine him
 An houre or two, and laugh and get his cloath's
 To make our fport vp. Wife, where's the empty hogfhead
 That wont to ftand vnder the ftaires? BE. There ftill.
 RON. Out with it quickly: I muft haue it fil'd.
 1620 BE. Not to day, good fir, to morrow will ferue as well.
 Ro. I muft ha't now. BE. 'Tis more then I can cary.
 RON. I'le helpe thee; fo, fo. Foh! this veffel's mufty.
 Fetch out fome water. BEV. Fetch't your felfe.
 TRI. Pox of all Transmutation, I am fmother'd.
 1625 Lady, as you loue mee, giue the Hogfhead vent.
 The beere that's in't will worke and breake the veffell.
 BEV. Signior *Antonio*, as you loue your life
 Lie ftill and clofe, for if you ftirre you die.
 RON. So, fo, now fhake it, fo, fo. TR. Oh I am drown'd, I drowne!
 1630 Ro. Whence come's this hollow found? TR. I drowne, I fmother!
 RON. My life 'tis *Trincalo*, For I haue heard that Coxcombe,
 That Affe, that Clowne, feekes to corrupt my wife,
 Sending his fruite and dainties from the Country.
 O that 'twere he. How would I vfe the villaine!
 1635 Firft crop his eares, then flit his nofe, and gueld him,
 And with a red hot Iron feare his raw wounds;
 Then barrell him againe, and fend the Eunuch (in heere?)
 To the great Turk to keep his Concubines. Tick, tock, who's with-
 BEV. One that you dare not touch. RON. One that I dare not?
 1640 Out villaine, out. Signior *Antonio*!
 Had it beene any but your felfe, hee had died.
 But as you fau'd my life before you went,
 So now command mine in your feruices.
 I would haue fworne y'ad drown'd in *Barbary*.
 1645 TRI. 'Twas a hard paffage: but not fo dangerous

As was this Veffell. Pray you conceiue no ill,
 I meant no harme, but cal'd at your wife to know
 How my fonne *Lelio* did, and daughter *Flauia*.
 RON. Sir I beleeeue you. TRI. But I must tell you one thing,
 1650 You must not be so iealous, on my honour
 Shee's very honest. Ro. For you I make no question.
 But there's a rogue cal'd *Trincalo*, whom if I catch.
 I'll teach him. TR. Who? you meane *Pandolfo's* Farmer.
 Alas poore foole, hee's a stark Affe, but harmeleffe.
 1655 And though she talk with him, 'tis but to laugh,
 As all the world do's at him: Come be friends
 At my entreaty. RON. Sir, for your sake. BE. I thanke you.
 TRI. Let's haue a fire; and while I dry my felfe,
 Prouide good wine and meate. I'll dine with you.
 1660 I must not home thus wet. I am something bold with you.
 RON. My house and felfe are at your seruice. TR. Lead in.
 Alas poore *Trincalo* had'st thou beene taken, (shape.
 Thou had'st bene tunn'd for Turkey. Ha; ha, ha; faire fall *Antonio's*
 What a notorious Wittall's this! Ha, ha, ha.
 1665 *Finis Act. 3.*

Act. 4. Scæn. I.

ANTONIO.

THvs by great fauour of propitious Starres,
 From fearefull stormes, ship-wrack, and raging billowes,
 1670 Mercileffe iawes of death, am I return'd
 To th'safe and quiet bosome of my Country,
 And with'd embracements of my friends and kindred.
 The memory of these misfortunes past,
 Season's the welcome, and augment's the pleasure
 1675 I shall receiue of my fonne *Lelio*
 And daughter *Flauia*. So doth alloy

Make

Make gold, that else were vfeleffe, feruiceable.
 So th'rugged fore-head of a threatning Mountaine,
 Threatens the smootheffe of a smiling Valley.

1680

ACT. 4. SCEN. 2.

CRICCA. ANTONIO.

- CRICCA. **VV** Hat do I see? Is not this *Trincalo*
 Transform'd t' *Antonio*? 'tis: and so perfectly
 That did the right *Antonio* now confront him,
 1685 I'de sweare they both were true, or both were false.
 ANT. This man admires the vnexpectednesse
 Of my returne. CR. O wondrous powre of Starres,
 And skill of Art t'apply't. You that are married
 May iustly feare, leaft this Astrologer
 1690 Cloath your wiues seruants in your shape, and vse you
 As *Iupiter* did *Amphitrio*: You that are rich,
 In your owne forme may loofe your gold. ANT. 'Tis *Cricca*.
 CRICCA. Hee seeme's so iust the man hee represent's,
 That I dare hardly vse him as I purpos'd.
 1695 ANT. *Cricca*, well met, how fares my friend *Pandolfo*?
 CRICCA. Your friend *Pandolfo*? How are your meanes improu'd;
 To stile familiarly your Maister friend? ANT. What saist thou?
 CRICCA. That I reioyce your Worship's safe return'd
 From your late drowning. Th'Exchange hath giu'n you lost.
 1700 And all your friends worne mourning three monthes past.
 ANT. The danger of the Shipwrack I escap't
 So desperate was, that I may truly fay
 I am new borne, not fau'd. CRICCA. Ha, ha, ha, through what a grace
 And goodly countenance, the Raskall speakes?
 1705 What a graue portance? Could *Antonio*
 Himselfe out-do him? ô you notorious villaine!
 Who would haue thought thou couldst haue thus diffembled?
 ANT. How now? a seruant thus familiar? Syrrha
 Vse your companions so: more reuerence
 1710 Become's you better. CRICCA. As though I vnderstood not,

- The end of all this plot and goodly bufineffe?
 Come I know all, fee! this vntil'd clod of earth
 Conceites his minde transform'd, as well as body.
 Hee wringes and bites his lips for feare of laughing. Ha, ha, ha!
- 1715 ANT. Why laugh you firra? CRI. Sirra, to fee thee chang'd
 So ftrangely, that I can not fpy one inch
 Of thy old Clownifh Carkas. Ha, ha. ANT. Laughter proceeds
 From abfurd aétions that are harmeleffe. CRI. Ha, ha, ha.
 Sententious Block-head! ANT. And y'are ill aduis'd
- 1720 To iefte in fteed of pittie. Alas! my miferies,
 Dangers of death, flau'ry of cruell Moores,
 And tedious iournies, might haue eaſly altred
 A ftronger body; much more this decay'd veſſell,
 Out-worne with age, and broken by misfortunes.
- 1725 CR. Leaue your fet ſpeeches. Go to *Antonio's* houſe,
 Effect your bufineffe. For vpon my credite
 Th'art ſo well turn'd, they dare not but accept thee.
 ANT. Where ſhould I hope for welcome, if not there;
 From my owne houſe, children, and family?
- 1730 CRI. Is't poſſible this Coxcombe ſhould conceiue
 His mind tranſform'd? How grauely he continues
 The countnance hee began? Ha, ha. Why block-head?
 Think'ſt to deceiue mee too? Why *Trincalo*?
 AN. I vnderſtand you not. Hands off. CRI. Art not thou *Trincalo*,
- 1735 *Pandolfo's* man? ANT. I not ſo much as know him.
 CRI. Dar'ſt thou denie't to mee? AN. I dare, and muſt
 To all the world, 'long as *Antonio* liues.
 CR. You arrant Affe, haue not I knowne thee ſerue
 My Maſter in his Farme this thirteene yeares?
- 1740 ANT. By all the oathes that bind mens conſciences
 To truth, I am *Antonio*; and no other.

ACT. 4. SCEN. 3.

PANDOLFO. CRICCA. ANTONIO.

- PAN. **VV** Hat meanes this noiſe? ô *Cricca*! what's the matter?
 1745 CR. Sir heere's your Farmer *Trincalo*, tranſform'd

So iust, as he were melted, and new cast
In the true mould of old *Antonio*.

PAN. Th'right eye's no liker to the left, then hee
To my good neighbour. Diuine *Albumazar*!

1750 How I admire thy skill! iust so hee look't,
And thus hee walk't; this is his face, his haire,
His eies, and countnance; If his voyce be like
Then is th'Astrologer a wonder-worker.

ANT. Signior *Pandolfo*, I thanke the heauens as much
1755 To finde you well, as for my owne returne.

How do's your daughter, and my loue, *Sulpitia*?

PAN. Well, well, fir. CRI. This is a good beginning,
How naturally the rogue dissembles it?

With what a gentle garbe, and ciuill grace

1760 He speake's and lookes: How cunningly *Albumazar* (ther: Sir,
Hath for our purpose suted him in Barbary cloaths. I'll try him fur-
We heard you were drown'd, pray you, how scap't you ship-wrack?

ANT. No sooner was I ship't for Barbary,
But faire winde follow'd, and faire weather led vs.

1765 When entred in the Straites of *Gibraltar*,
The heau'ns, and seas, and earth, conspir'd against vs,
The tempest tore our helme, and rent our tackels,
Broake the maine Mast, while all the sea about vs
Stood vp in watry Mountaines to ouerwhelme vs.

1770 And struck's against a Rock, splitting the vessell
T'a thousand splinters. I, with two Marriners
Swam to the Coast, where by the barbarous Moores
We were surpriz'd, fetter'd, and sold for slaues.

CR. This tale th'Astrologer pen'd, and he hath cond it.

1775 ANT. But by a Gentleman of Italy
Whom I had knowne before. PAN. No more, this tast
Proue's thou canst play the rest. For this faire story
My hand I make thy ten pound, twenty Markes.
Thou look'ft and speake'ft so like *Antonio*.

1780 ANT. Whom should I looke, and speake like, but my selfe?

CRI. Good still! PAN. But now my honest *Trincalo*,
Tell mee, where's all the Plate, the gold, and Iewels,

That the Astrologer, when hee had transform'd thee
Committed to thy charge? are they safe lock't?

1785 ANT. I vnderstand you not. PAN. The iewels man,
The Plate and gold th'Astrologer that chang'd thee
Bad thee lay vp? ANT. What plate? what gold? what Iewels.
What transformation? what Astrologer?

CRI. Leauē of *Antonio* now, and speake like *Trincalo*.

1790 ANT. Leauē of your iesting; it neither fits your place
Nor age, *Pandolfo*, to scoffe your ancient friend.
I know not what you meane by gold and iewels,
Nor by th'Astrologer, nor *Trincalo*.

CRI. Better and better still. Beleeue mee fir,
1795 Hee thinke's himselfe *Antonio*, and euer shall bee,
And so possesse your Plate. Art not thou *Trincalo*
My Maisters Farmer? ANT. I am *Antonio*
Your Master's friend, if hee teach you more manners.

PAN. Humour of wiuing's gone: farewell good *Flauia*,
1800 Three thousand pound must not bee lost so flightly.
Come fir, wee'l drag you to th'Astrologer,
And turne you to your ragged barke of Yeomanry.
AN. To me these tearmes! PAN. Come I'le not loose my Plate.

CRI. Stay, fir, and take my counsell. Let him still
1805 Firmely conceite himselfe the man hee seeme's:
Thus hee himselfe deceiu'd, will farre more earnestly
Effect your bufinesse, and deceiue the rest.

There's a maine difference twixt a selfe-bred action
And a for't carriage. Suffer him then to enter
1810 *Antonio's* house: and waite th'euent: for him

He cannot scape: What you entend to do,
Do't when 'has seru'd your turne. I see the Maide,
Let's hence least they suspect our consultations.

PAN. Thy counsel's good: Away. CR. Looke *Trincalo*
1815 Yonder's your beauteous Mistresse *Armellina*,
And daughter *Flauia*. Courage, I warrant thee.

ANT. Blest be the heau'ns, that rid me of this trouble.
For with their Farmer and Astrologer,
Plate, and gold, the'aue almost madded mee.

1820

ACT. 4. SCEN. 4.

FLAVIA. ARMELLINA. ANTONIO.

- FLA. **A** *Rmellina?* ARM. Mistresse. FLA. Is the dore fast?
 AR. Yes, as an Vfurers purse. FL. Come hither wench,
 Looke here, there's *Trincalo*, *Pandolfo's* Farmer,
 1825 Wrapt in my father's shape: prethee come quickly,
 And help mee to abuse him. AR. Notorious Clowne!
 ANT. These are my gates, and that's the Cabinet
 That keepe my Iewels, *Lelio*, and his sister.
 FLA. Neuer was villany so perfonate
 1830 In seemely properties of grauity. AN. Tick, tock.
 FLA. Who's hee that knock's so boldly? AR. What want you, sir?
 AN. O my faire daughter *Flauia*! Let all the Starres
 Powre downe full blessings on thee. Ope the dores.
 FLA. Marke! his faire daughter *Flauia*, ha, ha, ha.
 1835 Most shamelesse villaine how hee counterfeits!
 AN. Know'st not thy father, old *Antonio*?
 Is all the world growne frantick? FL. What *Antonio*?
 AN. Thy louing father, *Flauia*. FL. My father!
 Would thou wert in his place. *Antonio's* dead,
 1840 Dead, vnder water drown'd. AN. That dead and drown'd
 Am I. FLA. I loue not to conuerse with dead men.
 ANT. Open the dore sweete *Flauia*. FLA. Sir I am afear'd:
 Horroure inclofes mee, my haire stand vp,
 I sweate to heare a dead man speake, you smell
 1845 Of putrification: Fy! I feel't hither.
 AN. Th'art much abus'd, I liue: come downe, and know mee.
 AR. Mistresse let mee haue some sport too. Who's there?
 AN. Let mee come in. AR. Soft, soft sir, Y'are too hasty.
 AN. Quickly, or else-- AR. Good words, good words, I pray sir,
 1850 In strangers houses! were the dores your owne,
 You might bee bolder. AN. I'le beate the dores and windowe's
 About your eares. AR. Are you so hot? wee'le coole you.
 Since your late drowning, your gray and reuerent head

Is smear'd with Oes, and stucke with Cockle-shels,
 1855 This is to wash it. AN. Impudent whoore! ARM. Out Carter.
 Hence durtie whipstocke, hence you foule clowne: be gone,
 Or all the water I can make, or borrow,
 Shall once more drowne you.

ACT. 4. SCEN. 5.

1860 LELIO. ANTONIO. ARMELLINA.

LE. **A** *Rmellina?* who do you draw your tongue vpon so sharply?
 ARM. Sir, 'tis your fathers ghost, that striues by force
 To breake the doores and enter. LE. This his graue lookes!
 In every lineament himselfe no liker.
 1865 Had I not haply been advertiz'd,
 What could haue forc'd me thinke 'twere *Trincalo*?
 Doubtlesse, th'Astrologer hath raif'd a ghost
 That walkes in th'reverend ghost of my dead father.
 ANT. These ghosts, these *Trincalo's*, and Astrologers,
 1870 Strike me beside my selfe. Who will receiue me
 When mine owne sonne refuseth? ô *Antonio*!
 LE. Infinite power of Art! who would beleue
 The planets influence could transforme a man
 To feuerall shapes! I could now beate him soundly
 1875 But that he weares the awfull countenance
 Of my dead father, whose memory I reverence.
 AN. If I be chang'd beyond thy knowledge, sonne,
 Consider that th'excesse of heate in *Barbarie*,
 The feare of shipwrack, and long tedious iournies,
 1880 Haue tan'd my skin, and shrunk my eyes and cheekes;
 Yet still this face, though alter'd, may be knowne.
 This skarre beares witnesse, 'twas the wound thou cur'dst
 With thine owne hands. LE. He that chang'd *Trincalo*
 T'*Antonio's* figure, omitted not the skarre
 1885 As a maine character. AN. I haue no other markes
 Or reasons to perswade thee; me thinkes, this word
I am thy father, were argument sufficient

To bend my knees, and creepe to my embracements.
 LE. A sudden coldnesse strikes me, my tender heart
 1890 Beates with compassion of I know not what.
 Sirra be gone, trusse vp your goodly speeches,
 Sad shipwracks, and strange transformations.
 Your plot's discouer'd, 'twill not take: thy impudence
 For once I pardon. The pious reuerence
 1895 I owe to th' graue resemblance of my father
 Holds backe my angry hands. Hence, if I catch you
 Haunting my doores againe, I'le bastonado you
 Out of *Antonio's* skin. Away. ANT. I goe fir,
 And yeeld to such crosse fortune as thus driues me.

1900

ACT. 4. SCEN. 6.

TRINCALO. and BEVILONA *dressing him.*

TRI. When this transformed substance of my carcassee
 Did liue imprison'd in a wanton hogshead,
 My name was *Don Antonio*, and that title
 1905 Preferu'd my life, and chang'd my fute of cloathes.
 How kindly the good Gentlewoman vs'd me! with what respect
 and carefull tenderesse! Your worship fir had euer a sickly consti-
 tution, and I feare much more now since your long travaile: as you
 loue me, off with these wet things, and put on the fute you left with
 1910 me before you went to *Barbary*. Good fir neglect not your health:
 for vpon my experience there's nothing worse for the rheume, then
 to bee drench't in a musty hogshead. Pretty foule! such another
 speech would haue drawn off my legges and armes, as easily as hose
 and doublet. Had I been *Trincalo* I'de haue sworne th'had cheated.
 1915 But fy! 'tis base and clownish to suspect, and a gentlewomans free-
 nesse to part with a cast fute. Now to the businesse. I'le in to my
 owne house, and first bestow *Armellina* vpon *Trincalo*, then try what
 can bee done for *Pandolfo*: for 'tis a rule I wont t'obserue. First doe
 your own affaires, and next your masters. This word master makes
 1920 me doubt I am not chang'd as I should be. But al's one, I'le venter,
 and doe something worthy *Antonio's* name while I haue it.

Act.

ACT. 4. SCEN. 7.

ANTONIO. TRINCALO.

- AN. **W**retched *Antonio*, hast beene preferu'd so strangely
 1925 From forraine miseries to be wrong'd at home?
 Bar'd from thy house by th'fornes of thine owne children?
 TRIN. Tick, tock.
 ANT. But stay, there's on knockes boldly, 'may be some friend.
 TRIN. Tick, tock.
 1930 ANT. Dwell you here gentleman? TRI. Hee calls me gentleman.
 See th'virtue of good cloathes: all men salute,
 Honour, respect and reverence vs. ANT. Yong gentleman,
 Let me without offence intreate your name,
 And why you knocke. TRI. How firra Sawce-boxe, my name?
 1935 Or thou some stranger art, or grossely ignorant
 That know'st not me. Ha! what art thou that ask'st it?
 ANT. Bee not in choler fir. TRIN. Befits it me,
 A gentleman of publicke reputation,
 To stoope so low as fatisfie the questions
 1940 Of base and earthly peeces like thy selfe? What art thou? ha?
 ANT. Th'vnfortunate possessor of this house.
 TRI. Thou ly'st base Sycophant, my worship owes it.
 AN. 'May be my sonne hath sold it in my absence,
 Thinking me dead. How long has't cal'd you master?
 1945 TRI. 'Long as *Antonio* possessest it. AN. Which *Antonio*?
 TRI. *Antonio Anastasio*. ANT. That *Anastasio*
 That drown'd in *Barbarie*? TRI. That *Anastasio*,
 That selfe same man am I: I scap'd by swimming,
 And now returne to keepe my former promise
 1950 Of *Flauia* to *Pandolfo*; and in exchange,
 To take *Sulpitia* to my wife. ANT. All this
 I intended'fore I went; but fir, if I
 Can be noother then my selfe, and you
 Are that *Antonio*, you and I are one.
 1955 TR. How? one with thee? speake such another fillable,
 And by the terror of this deadly steele,

That

- That nere saw light, but sent to endlesse darknesse
 All that durst stand before't: thou diest. AN. Alas
 My weaknesse growne by age, and paines of trauell,
 1960 Difarmes my courage to defend my selfe;
 I haue no strength but patience. TR. What art now?
 AN. *Peter*, and *Thomas*, *William*, what you please.
 TR. What boldnesse madded thee to steale my name?
 AN. Sir, heat of wine. TR. And firra when y'are drunk,
 1965 Is there no person to put on, but mine,
 To couer your intended villanies?
 AN. But good fir, if I be not I, who am I?
 TR. An Oxe, an Affe, a dog. AN. Strange negligence
 To loofe my selfe! me thinkes I liue and moue,
 1970 Remember. Could the fearefull apprehension
 Of th'vgly feare of drowning so transforme me?
 Or did I dye, and by *Pythagoras* rule,
 My foule's prouided of another lodging?
 TRI. Be what thou wilt, except *Antonio*,
 1975 'Tis death to touch that name. AN. Dangers at sea
 Are pleasures, weigh'd with these home-iniuries.
 Was euer man thus skar'd beside himselfe?
 O most vnfortunate *Antonio*!
 At sea thou suffredst shipwrack of thy goods,
 1980 At land of thine owne selfe. *Antonio*?
 Or what name else they please? fly, fly to *Barbarie*,
 And rather there endure the forraigne crueltie
 Of fetters, whippes, and Moores, then here at home
 Be wrong'd and baffled by thy friends and children.
 1985 TRI. How? prating still? why *Timothy*, be gone,
 Or draw, and lay *Antonio* downe betwixt vs,
 Let fortune of the fight decide the question.
 Here's a braue rogue, that in the Kings high-way
 Offers to robbe me of my good name. Draw.
 1990 AN. These wrongs recall my strength, I am resolu'd.
 Better dye once, then suffer alwayes. Draw.
 TR. Stay. Vnderstand'st thou well nice points of duell?
 Art borne of gentle bloud, and pure discent?

Was none of all thy lineage hang'd, or cuckold?
 1995 Bastard, or bastinado'd? is thy pedigree
 As long and wide as mine? For otherwise
 Thou wert most vnworthy; and 'twere losse of honour
 In me to fight. More, I haue drawne fve teeth:
 If thine stand found, the tearmes are much vnequall.
 2000 And by strict lawes of duell, I am excus'd
 To fight on difadvantage. AN. This some Affe!
 TRI. If we concurre in all, write a formall chalenge,
 And bring thy fecond: meane while I'le make prouision
 Of *Calais* sand to fight vpon securely. Ha!

2005 ACT. 4. SCEN. 8.

LELIO. CRICCA. TRINCALO. ANTONIO.

LE. **A**M I awake? or do deceitfull dreames
 Prefent to my wild fanfie things I see not?
 CR. Sir, what amazement's this? why wonder you?
 2010 LE. See'st thou not *Trincalo* and *Antonio*?
 CR. O strange! th'are both heere. LE. Didst not thou informe me,
 That *Trincalo* was turn'd t' *Antonio*?
 Which I beleeuing, like a curfed fonne,
 With most reprochfull threats, droue mine old father
 2015 From his owne doores; and yet rest doubtfull, whether
 This be the true *Antonio*: 'may be th'Astrologer
 Hath chang'd some other, and not *Trincalo*.
 CR. No, feare it not: 'tis plaine: *Albumazar*
 Hath cheated my old master of his plate.
 2020 For here's the Farmer, as like himfelfe as euer;
 Onely his cloathes excepted. *Trincalo*!
 TRI. *Cricca*, where's *Trincalo*? do'st see him here?
 CR. Yes, and as ranke an Affe as e're he was.
 TRI. Thou'rt much deceiu'd, thou neither see'st nor know'st me.
 2025 I am transform'd, transform'd. CR. Th'art still thy felfe.
Lelio, this Farmer's halfe a foole, halfe knaue.
 And as *Pandolfo* did with much intreatie

- Perfwade him to transforme; fo as much labour
 Will hardly bring the Coxcombe to himfelfe,
 2030 That nere was out on't. Who art, if not hee?
 TR. My name is *Don Antonio*, I am now going
 To my owne houfe, to giue *Pandolfo Flauia*,
 And *Armellina* to his Farmer *Trincalo*.
 How dar'ft thou *Cricca*, but a meaner feruant,
 2035 Refemble me, a man of worth and worfhip,
 To fuch a clowne as *Trincalo*, a branded foole,
 An Affe, a laughing-ftock to Towe and Countrey?
 Art not afham'd to name him with *Antonio*?
 LE. Do not thy actions, with thy rude behauiour,
 2040 Proclaime thee what thou art? CR. Notorious clowne!
 TR. Villaine, th'haft broke my fhoulders. LE. O did'ft feele him?
 TR. I with a poxe. LE. Then th'art ftill *Trincalo*.
 For hadft thou beene *Antonio*, he had fmarted.
 TRI. I feele it as I am *Antonio*.
 2045 CRI. Foole! who loues *Armellina*? TR. 'Tis I, 'tis I.
 CRI. *Antonio* neuer lou'd his kitchin-maid.
 TRI. Well, I was taken for *Antonio*,
 And in his name receiu'd ten pound in gold,
 Was by his miftrefle entertain'd; but thou
 2050 Enuy'ft my happineffe: if th'haft th'ambition
 To rife as I haue done: Go to *Albumazar*,
 And let him change thee to a Knight, or Lord.
 CRI. Note the ftrange power of ftrong imagination.
 TRI. A world of engines cannot wrefte my thoughts,
 2055 From being a Gentleman: I am one, and will be:
 And though I bee not, yet will thinke my felfe fo:
 And fcorne thee *Cricca*, as a flaue and feruant.

ACT. 4. SCEN. 9.

CRICCA. LELIO. ANTONIO.

- 2060 CR. **T**Is but loft labour to diffwade his dulneffe, (thence,
 Beleeue me that's your father. LE. When I droue him

- Spight of my bloud his reuernt countenance
 Strooke me t'a deepe compaffion. To cleere all,
 I'le aske one question. Signior *Antonio*,
- 2065 What money tooke you when you went your voyage?
 AN. As I remember, fourefcore and fifteene pound
 In *Barbarie* gold. Had *Lucio* kept his word
 I had carried iust a hundred. LE. Pardon me, father;
 'Twas my blind ignorance, not want of duty,
- 2070 That wrong'd you: all was intended for a Farmer,
 Whom an Astrologer, they sayd, transform'd.
 AN. How an Astrologer? LE. When you parted hence
 It seemes you promisd *Flauia* to *Pandolfo*.
 Newes of your death arriuing, th'old Gentleman
- 2075 Importunes me to second what you purpof'd.
 Consulting therefore with my friends and kindred,
 Loth my yong sifter should be buried quicke
 I'th graue of threescore yeares: by their aduice
 I fully did deny him. He chafes and stormes,
- 2080 And finds at length a cunning man, that promif'd
 To turne his Farmer to your shape: and thus
 Possesse your house, and giue him *Flauia*.
 Whereof I warn'd, wrong'd you in stead of *Trincalo*.
 AN. Then hence it came they cald me *Trincalo*,
- 2085 And talk't of an Astrologer; which names
 Almost inrag'd me past my selfe and senses.
 'Tis true I promif'd, but haue oft repented it.
 And much more since he goes about to cheate me.
 He must not haue her, fir. LE. I am glad y'are so resolu'd.
- 2090 And since, with vs, you finde that match vnequall,
 Let's all intreate you to bestow your daughter
 Vpon his sonne *Eugenio*. AN. Sonne, at your pleasure
 Dispose of *Flauia*, with my full consent.
 LE. And as you iudge him worthy your daughter *Flauia*,
- 2095 Thinke me no lesse of his *Sulpitia*.
 AN. I do; and euer had desire to match
 Into that family; and now I finde my selfe
 Old, weake, vnfit for marriage, you shall enioy her,

- If I can worke *Pandolfo* by intreatie:
 2100 CR. To deale with him with reafon and intreaties,
 Is to perfwade a mad-man: for his loue
 Makes him no leffe. All fpeeches oppofite
 T'his fixt defire, and loue-corrupted iudgement,
 Seeme extreame fooleries. Will hee confent
 2105 To giue his daughter to your fonne, and you
 Deny him *Flauia*? Shall *Eugenio*
 Expect or land or loue from old *Pandolfo*,
 Being his open riuall? 'tis impoffible.
 He fought to cofen you; therefore refolue
 2110 To pay him in's owne money. Be but aduif'd
 By my poore counfaile, and one ftroke fhall cut
 The root of his defignes, and with his arrowes
 Strike his owne plot fo dead, that *Albumazar*
 With all his ftarres and instruments, fhall neuer
 2115 Giue it frefh motion. AN. *Cricca*, to thy direction
 We yeeld our felues, manage vs at thy pleafure.
 LE. Speake quickly *Cricca*. CR. The ground of all this bufineffe,
 Is to catch *Trincalo*, and locke him faft
 Till I releafe him: next, that no man whifper
 2120 Th'leaft word of your returne. Then will I home,
 And with a cheerefull looke tell my old mafter,
 That *Trincalo*—— but ftay, looke where he comes,
 Let's in, and there at leafure I'll informe you
 From poynt to poynt. *Lelio*, detaine him here,
 2125 Till I fend *Armellina* downe to fecond you.
 Croffe him in nothing, call him *Antonio*,
 And good enough. LE. Feare not, let me alone.

ACT. 4. SCEN. 10.

TRINCALO. LELIO.

- 2130 TRI. **T**HIS rafcall *Cricca* with his arguments
 Of malice, fo disturbes my gentle thoughts,
 That I halfe doubt I am not what I feeme:

But

But that will foone bee clear'd; if they receiue mee
In at *Antonio's* house, I am *Antonio*.

2135 LEL. Signior *Antonio* my most louing father?
Blest be the day and houre of your returne.

TRIN. Son *Lelio*? a blessing on my child, I pray thee tell mee,
How fares my seruant *Armellina*? well?

LEL. Haue you forgot my sifter *Flauia*?

2140 TRIN. What my deere daughter *Flauia*? no, but first
Call *Armellina*: for this day wee'l celebrate
A gleeke of Marriages: *Pandolfo* and *Flauia*,
Sulpitia and my selfe, and *Trincalo*
With *Armellina*. Call her, good *Lelio*, quickly.

2145 LEL. I will sir. TRI. So: this is well that *Lelio*
Confesseth mee his father. Now I am perfect,
Perfect *Antonio*.

ACT. 4. SCEN. II.

ARMELLINA. TRINCALO.

2150 AR. Signior *Antonio*!

SMY long expected Maister! TR. O *Armellina*!
Come let mee kisse thy brow like my owne daughter.

AR. Sir 'tis too great a fauour. I kisse your foote.

What falne? Alas! how feeble you are growne,

2155 With your long trauel? TR. True; and being drown'd,
Nothing so grieu'd mee as to loose thy company.

But since I am safe return'd, for thy good seruice
I'll helpe thee to a husband. ARM. A husband, sir?

Some yong and lusty youth, or else I'll none.

2160 TRI. To one that loue's thee deerely, deerely wench.
A goodly man, like mee in limbs and fashion.

AR. Fye, an old man? how? cast my selfe away,

And bee no nurse but his? TR. Hee's not like mee

In yeares and grauity, but faire proportion. (*calo* of Totnam.

2165 A handsome well-set man as I. AR. His name? TR. 'Tis *Tom Trin-*
ARM. Signior *Pandolfo's* lusty Farmer? TRI. That's hee.

- ARM. Most vnexpected happineffe! 'tis the man,
 I more esteeme then my owne life: sweete Maister
 Procure that match, and thinke mee satisfied
 2170 For all my former seruice without wages.
 But aj I feare you iest. My poore vnworthineffe
 Hopes not so great a fortune as sweete *Trincalo*.
 No, wretched *Armellina*, in and despaire:
 Back to thy mournfull Dresser; there lament
 2175 Thy flesh to Kitchin-stuffe, and bones to ashes,
 For loue of thy sweet Farmer. TRI. Alas poore soule,
 How prettily shee weepes for mee! Wilt see him?
 AR. My soule waites in my eies, and leaues my body
 Senfelesse. TR. Then sweare to keep my counsell. AR. I sweare
 2180 By th'beauteous eies of *Trincalo*. TR. Why I am *Trincalo*.
 AR. Your worship sir! why do you flout your seruant,
 Right worshipfull *Antonio*, my reuerend Maister?
 TRI. Pox of *Antonio*, I am *Tom Trincalo*.
 Why laugh'st thou? AR. 'Tis desire and ioy,
 2185 To see my sweetest. TR. Look vpon mee and see him.
 ARM. I say I see *Antonio*, and none other.
 TRI. I am within, thy loue; without, thy Maister.
 Th'Astrologer transform'd mee for a day.
 AR. Mock not your poore Maide, pray you sir. TR. I doe not.
 2190 Now would I break this head against the stones,
 To be vnchang'd; fye on this Gentry, it stick's
 Like Bird-lime, or the Pox. I can not part with't.
 Within, I am still thy Farmer *Trincalo*.
 ARM. Then must I waite, till old *Antonio*
 2195 Bee brought to bed of a faire *Trincalo*;
 Or flea you, and strip you to your selfe againe.
 TRI. Carry mee to your chamber. Try mee there.
 AR. O sir by no meanes: but with my louely Farmer
 I'de stay all night and thank him. TRIN. Crosse misfortune!
 2200 Accurst *Albumazar*! and mad *Pandolfo*!
 To change me thus, that when I most desire
 To bee my selfe, I cannot. *Armellina*!
 Fetch mee a looking-glasse. AR. To what end? TR. Fetch one.

- Let my old maisters bufineffe fink or fwim,
 2205 This fweet occafion muft not be neglected.
 Now fhall I know th'Aftrologers skill: ô wonderfull!
 Admir'd *Albumazar* in two tranfmutations:
 Here's my old Farmers face. How in an instant (again, &c.
 I am vnchang'd that was fo long a changing. Here's my flatte nofe
 2210 Now *Armellina* take thy lou'd *Trincalo*
 To thy defir'd embracements, vfe thy pleafure,
 Kiffe him thy belly-full. ARM. Not here in publick.
 T'enioy too foone what pleafeth is vnpleafant:
 The world would enuy that my happineffe.
 2215 Go in, I'll follow you, and in my bed-chamber
 Wee'll confummate the match in priuacie.
 TRI. Was not the face I wore, farre worfe then this?
 But for thy comfort, Wench, *Albumazar*
 Hath died my thoughts fo deep i'th'graine of Gentry,
 2220 'Tis not a glaffe can rob mee of my good fafhion,
 And Gentlemanly garbe. Follow, my deere.
 AR. I'll follow you. So, now y'are faft enough.
 TR. Help *Armellina*, help! I am fal'n i'th' cellar:
 Bring a frefh Plantane leafe, I haue broke my fhinne.
 2225 ARM. Thus haue I caught m'a husband in a trap,
 And in good earneft meane to marry him.
 'Tis a tough Clowne and luftey: he works day & night;
 And rich enough for me, that haue no portion
 But my poore feruice. Well: hee's fomewhat foolifh;
 2230 The better can I dominere, and rule him
 At pleafure. That's the marke, and vtmoft height
 Wee women aime at. I am refolu'd; I'll haue him.

ACT. 4. SCEN. 12.

LELIO. CRICCA.

- 2235 LEL. **I**N, *Armellina*, lock vp *Trincalo*. AR. I will, fir.
 LEL. *Cricca*, for this thy counfell, if't fucceed,
 Feare not thy maisters anger: I'll preferre thee

And

And count thee as my *Genius*, or good fortune.

CRI. It can not chuse but take. I know his humor;

2240 And can at pleasure feather him with hopes,
Making him flye what pitch I wish, and stoope
When I shew fowle. LE. But for the sute of cloathes?

CRI. I'll throw them o're your garden wall. Away.

Haft to *Eugenio*, and *Sulpitia*,

2245 Acquaint them with the bufineffe. LE. I go.

ACT. 4. SCEN. 13.

LELIO. SULPITIA.

LE. **T**He hopefull issue of thy counsell, *Cricca*,
Brightens this eu'ning, and makes it more excell

2250 The clearest day, then a gray morning doth
The blindest midnight: raising my amorous thoughts
To such a pitch of ioy, that riches, honour,
And other pleasures, to *Sulpitia's* loue,
Appeare like Mole-hills to the Moone. SVL. *Lelio?*

2255 LEL. O there's the voice that in one note containes
All cords of Musick: How gladly shee'll embrace
The newes I giue her, and the messenger!

SVL. Soft, soft, y'are much mistaken: for in earnest,
I am angry *Lelio*; and with you. LE. Sweetest, those flames

2260 Rise from the fire of loue, and soone will quench
I'th'welcome newes I bring you. SVL. Stand still I charge you
By th'vertue of my lips; speake not a fillable
As you expect a kisse should close my choler.

For I must chide you. LEL. O my *Sulpitia*,

2265 Were euery speech a Pistoll charg'd with death,
I'de stand them all in hope of that condition.

SVL. First, fir, I heare, you teach *Eugenio*

Too graue a warinesse in your sisters loue,
And kill his honest forwardnesse of affection

2270 With your farre-fet respects, suspitions, feares.
You haue your may-bee's; this is dangerous:

That

- That courfe were better: for if fo: and yet:
 Who know's? th'euent is doubtfull: bee aduif'd:
 'Tis a yong rafhneffe: your father is your father:
 2275 Take leafure to confider. Thus y'haue confidered
 Poore *Flauia* almoft to her graue. Fy *Lelio*,
 Had this my fmalneffe vndertooke the bufineffe,
 And done no more in foure fhort winter daies
 Then you in foure monthes, I'de haue vow'd my maydenhead
 2280 To th'liuing Tomb of a fad Nunnery.
 Which for your fake I loath. LEL. Sweete by your fauour
 SVL. Peace! peace! Now y'are fo wife as if y'had eaten
 Nothing but braines, and marrow of Machiauell.
 You tip your fpeeches with *Italian* Motti,
 2285 *Spanifh* Refranes, and *Englifh* Quoth Hee's. Beleeue mee
 There's not a Prouerbe falt's your tongue, but plantes
 Whole colonies of white haires. O what a bufineffe
 Thefe hands muft haue when you haue married mee,
 To pick out fentences that ouer-yeare you.
 2290 LEL. Giue mee but leaue. SVL. Haue I a lip? and you
 Made Sonnets on't? 'tis your fault, for otherwife,
 Your fifter and *Eugenio* had beene fure (come yet.
 Long time e're this. LEL. But— SVL. Stay, your Qu's not
 I hate as perfectly this gray-greene of yours,
 2295 As old *Antonio's* greene-gray. Fy! Wife louers,
 Are moft abfurd. Were not I full refolu'd,
 I fhould beginne to coole mine owne affection.
 For fhame confider well your fifter's temper.
 Her melancholy may much hurt her. Refpect her,
 2300 Or fpight of mine owne loue, I'll make you ftay
 Six monthes, before you marry mee. *Lelio whispers.*
 SVL. This your fo happy newes? return'd? and fafe?
Antonio yet aliue? *Lelio whispers.* SVL. And then?
Lelio whispers.
 2305 SVL. Well. All your bufineffe muft bee compaffed
 With winding plots, and cunning ftratagems.
 Look to't: For if we be not married e're next morning,
 By the great loue that's hid in this fmall compaffe,

Flauia and my selfe will steale you both away
 2310 To your eternall shame and foule discredit.
 LEL. How pretily this louely littlenesse,
 In one breath plead's her owne cause, and my sifter's;
 Chides mee, and loues. This is that pleasing temper
 I more admire, then a continued sweetnesse
 2315 That ouer-fatiffie's: 'Tis salt I loue; not fugar.
Finis Act. 4.

Act. 5. Scæn. 1.

ALBVM AZAR. RONCA. FVRBO. HARPA X.

ALB. **H**OW? not a fingle share of this great prize,
 2320 That haue deseru'd the whole? was't not my plot,
 And paines, and you meere instruments and porters?
 Shall I haue nothing? RON. NO, not a siluer spoone.
 FVR. Nor couer of a Trencher-salt. HAR. Nor Table-napkin.
 ALB. Friends; we haue kept an honest trust and faith
 2325 'Long time amongst vs: Breake not that sacred league,
 By raising ciuill theft; turne not your furie
 'Gainst your owne bowels. Rob your carefull Maister!
 Are you not asham'd? RON. 'Tis our profession,
 As your's Astrologie. And in th'daies of old,
 2330 Good morrow Theefe, as welcome was receiu'd,
 As now your Worship. 'Tis your owne instruction.
 FVR. The Spartans held it lawfull, and th'Arabians,
 So grew Arabia, Happy: Sparta, Valiant.
 HAR. The world's a Theater of Theft: great Riuers
 2335 Rob smaller Brookes; and them the Ocean.
 AL. Haue not I wean'd you vp from peti-larceny,
 Dangerous and poore? and nurst you to full strength
 Of safe and gainefull theft? By rules of Art
 And principles of cheating, made you as free

- 2340 From taking, as you went inuifible?
And do yee thus requite mee? this the reward
For all my watchfull care? Ro. We are your schollers,
Made by your helpe, and our owne aptnesse, able
To instruct others. 'Tis the Trade wee liue by.
- 2345 You that are seruant to Diuine Astrologie,
Do something worth her liuery. Cast Figures,
Make Almanackes for all Meridians.
FVR. Sell Perſpicils, and Instruments of hearing,
Turne Clownes to Gentlemen, Buzzards to Falcons,
- 2350 Cur-dogs to Grey-hounds, Kitchin-maids to Ladies.
HAR. Discover more new Stars, and vnknowne Planets:
Vent them by dozens, stile them by the names
Of men that buy such ware. Take lawfull courses,
Rather then beg. AL. Not keep your honest promise?
- 2355 FVR. Beleeue none, credit none: for in this Citie
No dwellers are, but Cheaters, and Cheateez.
AL. You promise mee the greatest share. RON. Our promise!
If honest men by Obligations,
And instruments of Law, are hardly constrain'd
- 2360 T'obserue their word; Can wee, that make profession
Of lawlesse courses, do't? AL. Amongst our selues.
Faulcons that tyrannize o're weaker fowle,
Hold peace with their owne feathers. HA. But when they counter
Vpon one quarrey, breake that league as wee do.
- 2365 AL. At least restore th'ten pound in gold I lent you.
RON. 'Twas lent in an ill Second, worser Third,
And lucklesse Fourth: 'tis lost, *Albumazar*.
FVR. *Saturne* was in Ascension. *Mercury*
Was then Combuſt when you deliuered it.
- 2370 'Twill neuer be restor'd. RON. *Hali, Abenezra,*
Hiarcha, Brachman, Budda Babylonicus,
And all the *Chaldes* and the *Cabalists*,
Affirme that sad Aspect threat's losse of debts.
HAR. Frame by your *Azimut* and *Almicantar*,
2375 An engine like a Mace, whose qualitie
Of strange retractiue vertue may recall

- Desperate debts, and with that vndoe Sergeants.
 ALB. Was euer man thus baited by's owne whelps?
 Giue mee a slender portion for a stock
 2380 To beginne Trade againe. RON. 'Tis an ill course
 And full of feares. This treafure hath inrich't vs,
 And giuen vs meanes to purchase, and liue quiet
 Of th'fruite of dangers past. When I vf'd robbing,
 All blocks before me look't like Conftables,
 2385 And pofts appear'd in fhape of Gallowfes.
 Therefore good Tutor take your pupils counsell:
 'Tis better beg then steale: Liue in poore clothes,
 Then hang in Sattin. AL. Villaines, I'le be reueng'd,
 And reueale all the bufineffe to a Iuftice.
 2390 RON. Do, if thou long'ft to see thy owne Anatomie.
 AL. This treachery perfwade's mee to turne honeft.
 FVR. Search your Natiuitie: see if the Fortunes
 And Luminaries bee in a good Aspect.
 And thank vs for thy life. Had wee done well,
 2395 We had cut thy throat e're this. AL. *Albumazar*,
 Trust not these Rogues; hence and reuenge.
 RON. Fellowes away, here's company. Let's hence. *Exeunt.*

ACT. 5. SCEN. 2.

CRICCA. PANDOLFO.

- 2400 CR. **N**Ow *Cricca*, mask thy countenance in ioy,
 Speak welcome language of good newes, and moue
 Thy Maister, whose desires are credulous,
 To beleue what thou giu'ft him. If thy designe
 Land at the Hauen 'tis bound for; then *Lelio*,
 2405 *Eugenio*, and their Mistresses, are oblig'd
 By oath, t'affure a state of forty pounds
 Vpon thee for thy life. PAN. I long to know
 How my good Farmer speeds; how *Trincalo*
 Hath bene receiu'd by *Lelio*. CR. Where shall I find him?
 2410 What wee most seeke, still flies vs; what's auoided,
 Followes, or meetes vs full. I am embost

With

With trotting all the streetes to finde *Pandolfo*,
 And blesse him with good newes. PAN. This haſt of *Cricca*
 Abodes ſome good; doubtleſſe my *Trincalo*,
 2415 Receiued for *Antonio*, hath giuen me *Flauia*.
Cricca? CRI. Neither in *Pauls*, at home, nor in th'Exchange?
 Nor where he vſes to converſe? hee's loſt:
 And muſt be cried. PAN. Turne hither, *Cricca*: *Cricca*,
 See'ſt me not? CRI. Sir, the newes, and haſt to tell it,
 2420 Had almoſt blinded me. 'Tis ſo fortunate,
 I dare not powre it all at once vpon you,
 Leaſt you ſhould faint and ſwound away with ioy.
 Your transform'd *Trincalo*- PAN. What newes of him?
 CR. Entred as owner in *Antonio's* houſe-
 2425 PAN. On. CR. Is acknowledg'd by his daughter *Flauia*,
 And *Lelio*, for their father. PAN. Quickly good *Cricca*!
 CR. And hath ſent me in haſt to bid you- PAN. What?
 CR. Come with your ſonne *Eugenio*.- PAN. And then?
 CR. That he may be a witneſſe of your marriage.
 2430 But fir, I ſee no ſignes of ſo large gladneſſe,
 As I expected, and this newes deſeru'd.
 PAN. 'Tis here, 'tis here, within. All outward ſymtomes
 And characters of ioy, are poore expreſſions
 Of my great inward happineſſe: my heart's full,
 2435 And cannot vent the paſſions. Run *Cricca*, run,
 Run, as thou lou'ſt me, call *Eugenio*,
 And worke him to my purpoſe: thou canſt do it.
 Haſte, call him inſtantly. CR. I flye fir.

ACT. 5. SCEN. 3.

2440 PANDOLFO.

How ſhall I recompence this Aſtrologer?
 This great *Albumazar*? through whoſe learned hands,
 Fortune hath powr'd th'effect of my beſt wiſhes,
 And crown'd my hopes. Giue him this chaine? alas!

- 2445 'Tis a poore thanks, short by a thousand linkes
Of his large merit. No, he must liue with me,
And my sweet *Flauia*, at his ease and pleasure,
Wanting for nothing. And this very night
I'll get a boy, and he erect a figure
2450 To calculate his fortunes. So there's *Trincalo*
Antoniato, or *Antonio Intrinculate*.

ACT. 5. SCEN. 4.

ANTONIO. PANDOLFO. LELIO. EVGENIO.

- AN. Signior *Pandolfo*! welcome. LE. Your seruant sir.
2455 SPAN. Well met *Antonio*, my praies and wishes
Haue waited on you euer. AN. Thanks, deereft friend.
To speake my dangers past, were to discourse
Of dead men at a feast. Such sad relations
Become not marriages. Sir, I am here
2460 Return'd to doe you seruice: where's your sonne?
PAN. Hee'l wait vpon you presently. EV. Signior *Antonio*!
Happily welcome. AN. Thanks *Eugenio*.
How thinke you gentlemen? were it amisse
To call downe *Flauia* and *Sulpitia*,
2465 That what we do, may with a full consent
Be entertain'd by all? PAN. 'Tis well remembred.
Eugenio, call your sifter. AN. *Lelio*, call my daughter.

ACT. 5. SCEN. 5.

PANDOLFO. ANTONIO.

- 2470 PA. WIfely confider'd *Trincalo*: 'tis a faire prologue
To th' *Comædy* ensuing. Now I confesse
Albumazar had equall power to change,
And mend thy vnderstanding with thy body.
Let me embrace and hugge thee for this seruice.
2475 'Tis a braue on-fet: ah my sweet *Trincalo*!

ANT. How like you the beginning? PAN. 'Tis o'th further side
 All expectation. AN. Was't not right? and spoken
 Like old *Antonio*? PAN. 'Tis most admirable:
 Wer't he himfelfe that spake, he could not better't.
 2480 And for thy fake, I wish *Antonio's* fhape
 May ever be thy houle, and's wit thy Inne-mate.
 But wheres my plate, and cloath of filuer? AN. Safe.
 PA. They come: keep ftate, keep ftate, or al's difcouer'd.

ACT. 5. SCEN. 6.

2485 ANTO. PAND. EVG. LEL. FLA. SVLP.

AN. **E***Vgenio, Flauia, Lelio, and Sulpitia;*
 Marriages once confirm'd, and confummate,
 Admit of no repentance. Therefore 'tis fitting
 All parties with full freedome fpeake their pleafure,
 2490 Before it be too late. PAN. Good! excellent!
 ANT. Speake boldly therefore: do you willingly
 Giue full authoritie, that what I decree
 Touching thefe bufineffes, you'l all performe?
 EVG. I reft at your difpofe: what you determine,
 2495 With my beft power I ratifie; and *Sulpitia*,
 I dare be bold to promife, fayes no leffe.
 SVL. What e're my father, brother, and your felfe
 Shall thinke conuenient, pleafeth me. LE. In this,
 As in all other feruice, I commit my felfe
 2500 To your commands; and fo, I hope, my fifter.
 FLA. With all obedience: fir difpofe of me
 As of a child, that iudgeth nothing good
 But what you fhall approue. AN. And you *Pandolfo*?
 PAN. I moft of all. And, for I know the mindes
 2505 Of youth are apt to promife, and as prone
 To repent after; 'tis my advice they fweare
 T'obferue, without exception, your decree.
 FLA. Content. SVL. Content. PAN. By all the powers that heare
 Oathes, and raine vengeance vpon broken faith,

- 2510 I promise to confirme and ratifie
 Your sentence. LE. Sir, I sweare no lesse. EV. Nor I.
 FLA. The selfe-fame oath binds me. SVL. And me the fame.
 PAN. Now deare *Antonio*, all our expectation
 Hangs at your mouth: None of vs can appeale
 2515 From you to higher Courts. AN. First for preparatiue,
 Or slight *Præludium* to the greater matches;
 I must intreate you that my *Armellina*
 Be match't with *Trincalo*. Two hundred crownes
 I giue her for her portion. PAN. 'Tis done. Some reliques
 2520 Of his old Clownery, and dregges o'th Countrey,
 Dwell in him still: how carefull he prouides
 For himselfe first! Content. And more, I grant him
 A lease of twenty pounds a yeare. ANT. I thanke you.
 Gentlemen, since I feele my selfe much broken
 2525 With age, and my late miseries, and too cold
 To entertaine new heate; I freely yeeld
Sulpitia, whom I lou'd, to my sonne *Lelio*.
 PAN. How cunningly the Farmer hath provided
 T'obserue the semblance of *Antonio's* person,
 2530 And keepe himselfe still free for *Armellina*!
 AN. Signior *Pandolfo*, y'are wise, and vnderstand
 How ill hot appetites of vnbridled youth
 Become gray haire. How graue and honourable
 Wer't for your age to be inamored
 2535 With the faire shape of vertue, and the glory
 Of your fore-fathers! Then would you blush to thinke
 How by this dotage, and vnequall loue,
 You stain their honour, and your owne. Awake,
 Banish those wild affections; and by my example
 2540 Turne t'your reposed selfe. PAN. To what purpose, pray yo
 Serues this long proæme? on to th'sentence. AN. Sir,
 Conformitie of yeares, likenesse of manners,
 Are *Gordian* knots that bind vp matrimony.
 Now betwixt seuentie Winters, and fixteene,
 2545 There's no proportion, nor least hope of loue.
 Fye, that a gentleman of your discretion,

- Crown'd with such reputation in your youth,
Should in your Western dayes, loose th'good opinion
Of all your friends; and run to th'open danger
2550 Of closing the weake remnant of your dayes
With discontentment vnrecoverable.
PAN. Wrack me no more: pray you let's heare the sentence.
Note how the Affe would fright me, and indeere
His seruice; intimating, that his power
2555 May ouer-throw my hopes. Proceed to th'sentence.
AN. These things consider'd, I bestow my daughter
Vpon your sonne *Eugenio*; whose constant loue
With his so modest carriage, hath deseru'd her.
And, that you freeze not for a bed-fellow,
2560 I marry you with *Patience*. PAN. Trecherous villaine!
Accursed *Trincalo*! Ile--- But this no place,
Hee's too well back't. But shortly when the date
Of his *Antonio*'s ship's expir'd, revenge
Shall sweeten this disgrace. AN. Signior *Pandolfo*,
2565 When you recouer your selfe, loſt desperately
In disproportion'd dotage, then you'l thanke me
For this great fauour: be not obstinate:
Disquiet not your selfe. PAN. I thanke you sir.

ACT. 5. SCEN. 7.

2570 PANDOLFO.

- AND that you freeze not for a bed-fellow,
I marry you with *Patience*. Traiterous villaine!
Is't not enough to wrong me, and betray me,
But't must be done with scoffes? accursed *Trincalo*!
2575 And me most miserable! that when I thought
T'embrace yong *Flauia*, see her before my face
Bestow'd vpon my sonne! my sonne my rivall!
This is *Eugenio*'s plot, and his friend *Lelio*'s;
Who, with my seruant *Cricca*, haue conspir'd,
2580 And suborn'd *Trincalo* to betray his master.

Why doe I rage 'gainst any but my selfe,
 That haue committed such a ferious businesse
 To th'hands of a base clowne, and ignorant?
 I fee mine error, but no meanes to helpe it.
 2585 Onely the sweetnesse of reuenge is left me,
 Which I must execute: th'houres of's gentry
 Are now cleane spent. I'le home, and there attend him.

ACT. 5. SCEN. 8.

TRINCALO *drunke, but something recovered.*

2590 **W**elcome old trusty *Trincalo*, good Farmer welcome! giue
 me thy hand, wee must not part hereafter. Fye, what a trou-
 ble 'tis to be out of a mans selfe! If gentlemen haue no pleasure but
 what I felt to day; a teame of horses shall not dragge me out of my
 profession. There's nothing amongst them but borrowing, com-
 2595 pounding for halfe their debts, and haue their purse cut for the rest,
 cosned by whores, frightened with husbands, wash't in wet hogges-
 heads, cheated of their clothes, and falling in cellars for conclusion.

ACT. 5. SCEN. 9.

PANDOLFO *at the window.* TRINCALO.

2600 PAN. **O**Pretious peece of villany! are you vnchang'd?
 How confident the rogue dares walke the streetes!
 TRIN. And then such quarrelling: neuer a fute I wore to day, but
 hath been soundly basted. Onely this faithfull Countrey case scap't
 fist-free; and bee it spoken in a good houre, was neuer beaten yet
 2605 since it came from fulling!
 PAN. Tiff. toff. Base treacherous villaine! toff. toff. toff.
 TRI. Is this the recompence of my dayes worke?
 PAN. You marry me to patience? there's patience.
 And that you freeze not, there's warme patience,
 2610 Shee's a good bed-fellow; haue patience.
 TR. You'l beat me out on't fir: how haue I wrong'd you?
 PAN. So, as deserues th'expression of my fury

With

With th'cruellst tortures I can execute.

TRI. You kill me fir. PAN. Haue patience. TRI. Pray you fir!

2615 PAN. Seeke not by humble penitence t'appease me.

Nothing can fatisfie. TR. Fare-well humilitie.

Now am I beaten sober. *(takes away Pandolfo's staffe)*

Shall age and weaknesse master my youth and strength?

Now speake your pleasure: what's my fault? PAN. Dar'ft deny

2620 Thy owne act done before so many witnesse?

Suborn'd by others, and betray my confidence

With such a stony impudence? TR. I haue bin faithfull

In all you trusted me. PAN. To them; not me.

*O what a Proæme stuft with graue advice,

2625 And learned counsaile, you could shewre vpon me

Before the thunder of your deadly sentence!

And giue away my Mistresse with a scoffe!

TR. I giue your Mistresse? PA. Did'ft not thou decree

Contrary t'our compact, against my marriage?

2630 TR. Why, when was I your iudge? PA. Iust now, here. TR. See your

Then was I fast lock't in *Antonio's* Cellar: *(error!*

Where making vertue of necessitie,

I drunke starke drunke; and waking, found my selfe

Cloth'd in this Farmers sute, as in the morning.

2635 PAN. Did'ft not thou sweare t'enter *Antonio's* house,

And giue me *Flauia* for my wife? and after,

Before my owne face, gau'ft her to my sonne?

TR. Ha, ha, ha! PA. Canst thou deny't TR. Ha, ha, ha! *Whilst Trincalo*

Haue you got mistresse *Patience*? ha, ha, ha!

2640 PAN. Is not this true? TR. Ha, ha! PA. Answere me.

TRI. Ha, ha, ha wan! PAN. Was't not thus?

TRI. I answere. Firft, I neuer was transform'd,

But gul'd, as you were, by th'Astrologer

And those that cal'd m' *Antonio*. To proue this true,

2645 The gentleman you spoke with, was *Antonio*,

The right *Antonio*, safely return'd from *Barbarie*.

PA. Oi me! what's this? TR. Truth it selfe. PA. Was't not thou

That gau'ft the sentence? TR. Beleeue me no such matter:

I nere was gentleman, nor otherwise

*laughes, and fals
the staffe, Pan-
dolfo recouers
it, and beates
him.*

- 2650 Then what I am, vnlesse 'twere when I was drunke.
 PAN. How haue I beene deceiu'd! good *Trincalo*
 Pardon mee. I haue wrong'd thee. TR. Pardon you?
 When you haue beaten mee to paste, good *Trincalo*
 Pardon mee? PAN. I am forry for't; excuse mee.
- 2655 TRI. I am fory I must excuse you. But I pardon you.
 PAN. Now tell mee where's the plate and cloath of filuer,
 The gold and iewels that th'Astrologer
 Committed to thy keeping? TRI. What Plate, what iewels?
 Hee gaue mee none. But when he went to change mee,
- 2660 After a thousand circles and ceremonies,
 Hee bindes mee fast vpon a forme, and blindes mee
 With a thick Table-napkin. Not long after
 Vnbinds my head and feete, and giues mee light:
 And then I plainly saw, that I saw nothing;
- 2665 The Parler was cleane swep't of all was in't.
 PAN. Ojh me? ojh me! TR. What ailes you? Sir, what ailes you?
 PAN. I am vndone, I haue lost my Loue, my plate,
 My whole estate, and with the rest my selfe.
 TR. Loofe not your patience too. Leaue this lamenting,
- 2670 And lay the Towne; you may recouer it.
 PAN. 'Tis to small purpose. In, and hold thy peace.

ACT. 5. SCEN. 10.

CRICCA. PANDOLFO.

- 2675 CRI. **VV**Here shall I find my Maister to content him
 With welcome newes? Hee's here; newes! newes!
 Newes of good fortune, ioy and happinesse!
 PAN. *Cricca*, my fadnesse is vncapable
 Of better tidings: I am vndone most miserable!
- CR. Offend not your good luck, y'are now more fortunate
- 2680 Then when you rose this morning: Bee merry, fir,
 Cheare vp your selfe, y'haue what you wisht, feare nothing.
 PAN. May bee *Antonio* newly repents himselfe,
 With purpose to restore my *Flauia*.

Cricca,

- Cricca*, what is't? where's all this happineffe?
2685 CR. Lock't in *Antonio's* Clofet. PAN. All alone?
Sure that's my *Flauia*. Is not *Eugenio*
Suffred to enter? CR. *Antonio* keepes the key:
No creature enter's but himselfe. Al's safe
And shall be so restor'd. PAN. O my sweet *Cricca*!
2690 CR. And they that wrong'd you, most extremely fory,
Ready to yeeld you any fatisfaction.
PAN. Is't possible they should so soone repent them?
That iniur'd mee so lately? tell mee the manner
That caus'd them see their errour. CR. I'le tell you, fir.
2695 Being iust now at old *Antonio's* house,
One thunder's at th'back dore, enters, and preffes
To speake in priuate with yong *Lelio*;
Was instantly admitted: And thinke you who?
'Twas your Astrologer *Albumazar*.
2700 When hee had spoke a while; *Lelio* and *Antonio*
In hast command' mee fetch a Constable.
PAN. How can this Story touch my happineffe?
CR. I vp and downe throw flimie Ale-houses,
Clowdie Tobacco-shops, and vapouring Tauernes:
2705 My mouth full of enquiry; At last found one.
PAN. What of all this? is't possible a Constable
Concernes my good? CR. And following my directions,
Went to a Tippling-house, where wee tooke drinking
Three handsome fellows with a great Chest; Attach't them,
2710 And brought all to *Antonio*. PAN. Well, what then?
CRI. These were th'Astrologers intelligences, (spoken
That rob'd you through th'South window. PA. I thought th'hadst
Of *Flauia's* restoring. CRI. I meane your plate
And treasure; pray you, fir, is't not great happineffe
2715 To re-obtaine three thousand pounds in valew,
Desperately lost? and you still dote and dreame
Of *Flauia*, who by your owne consent
And oath is promis'd to your sonne *Eugenio*?
PA. Forward. CR. Within this Chest *Antonio* found your Plate,
2720 Gold, Iewels, cloath of filuer, nothing perisht,

- But all safe lock't till you acknowledge it.
 And since *Albumazar* of his owne accord
 Freely confest, and safe restor'd your treasure:
 Since 'tis a day of Iubile and marriage;
 2725 *Antonio* would entreate you to release
 And pardon the Astrologer: Thanking your fortune
 That hath restor'd you to your wealth, and selfe.
 Both which were lost i'th' foolish loue of *Flauia*.
 PA. Reason hath clear'd my sight, and drawne the vaile
 2730 Of dotage that so dark't my vnderstanding.
 I clearly see the flau'ry of affections;
 And how vnfutable my declining yeares
 Are for the dawning youth of *Flauia*.
 Let the best ioies of *Hymen* compasse her,
 2735 And her yong husband, my *Eugenio*,
 With full content. And since *Albumazar*
 By accident, cauf'd all this happineffe;
 I freely pardon him, and his companions:
 And haſt t'affist the marriages and feasts.
 2740 CRI. Why now you shew your selfe a worthy Gentleman.

ACT. 5. SCEN. *vlt.*

TRINCALO. CRICCA.

- TRIN. **C***Ricca* I ouer-heard your newes: all parts are pleas'd,
 Except my selfe. Is there no newes for *Trincalo*?
 2745 CRIC. Know'ſt it not? In, and see: *Antonio*
 Hath giu'n thee *Armellina* with a portion,
 Two hundreth Crownes: and old *Pandolfo* bound
 By oath t'affure thee twenty pounds a yeare,
 For three liues. TR. Haj! CRI. Come in. TR. I'll follow.

Epilogue.

2750

Epilogue.

2755

2760

TWO hundred Crownes? and twentie pound a yeare
For three good liues? Cargo! Hai Trincalo!
My wife's extreamely busie, dressing the supper
For these great marriages; and I not idle,
So that I cannot entertaine you here
As I would else-where. But if you come to Totnam
Some foure dayes hence, and aske for Trincalo
At th'signe o'th Hogshead; I'le morgage all my liues
To bid you welcome. You that loue Trincalo,
And meane to meete, clappe hands and mak't a bargaine.

FINIS.

TEXTUAL NOTES

THE FOLLOWING principles have been followed for the reproduction and collation of the text. (1) The text reprinted is that of the First Quarto (Q1). The only corrections are those involving obvious misprints, such as *herght* for *height* (l. 376), *whose* for *whose* (l. 1540) *Scene 4* for *Scene 3* (l. 1742), and *Act 2* for *Act 4* (l. 1922); turned letters, *threateus* for *threatens* (l. 1679); broken letters; or misspaciings, *somefriend* for *some friend* (l. 1928), and *cle ere* for *cleere* (l. 2063). (2) Variant spellings have not been recorded except as follows: when either the sense or the metre has been affected, when the characters' names have been altered, and when the Hoe-Huntington copy of Q1 (Q1HN) has shown differing forms on some sheets. (3) Divergent punctuation has been ignored unless the sense has been clearly altered. Thus the free interchange of question and exclamation marks is unrecorded, for both were used by the early printers to indicate merely that the line or phrase is to be stressed.

Collation has been selective with the various texts of Robert Dodsley's *Old Plays* as edited by Reed (1780), Collier (1825), and Hazlitt (1874-1876). In other words, Dodsley and Reed have generally been ignored except when later editors have directed attention to their readings. Collier and Hazlitt have been consulted as a rule only when Q1 and Q2 differ; and then, unless otherwise stated, their readings are those of Q1. Their emendations (often, by the way, borrowed from Steevens or Pegge) have also been included.

- 14* *Bevilona*] Q1-3; Q4 and Dodsley *Bauilona*.
- 48 *markes*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *makes*.
- 52 *gilt*] Q1, 3-4; Q1HN, Q2 *guilt*.
- 89 *thy name*] Q1, 3-4, Collier; Q2, Hazlitt *the name of*.
- 95 *profit*] Q1-4; Hazlitt *project*.
- 106 *smoothest*] Q1-4; Collier, Hazlitt *smooth*.
- 109 *My life h'as*] Q1-4; Hazlitt *On my life/He has*.
- 114 *starres*] Q1-4; Collier, Hazlitt *star*.
- 119 *Furb.*] Q1-4; Q1HN *Farb*.
- 121 *Pandolfo's*] Q1-4; Q1HN *Pandulfo's*.
- 125 *Thankes*] Q1, 3-4, Dodsley; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *Fur. Thankes*.
- 129 catchword *Aontonio*] Q1-3; Q1HN, Q4 *Antonio*.
- 132 *marriage*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *marriage*—.
- 164 *Last*] Q1-4; Collier, Hazlitt *list*.
- 168 *two*] Q1-4; Hazlitt *few*.

* Figures in the column to the left refer to lines of the play.

- 170 *decay'd*] Q1-4; Q1HN *decayed*.
 193 *grant m'*] Q1-3; Q4 *grant th'm*.
 198 *that*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *that's*.
 205 *houses*] Q1-4; Q1HN *doores*.
 277 *another of a*] Q1-3; Q4 *another of another of a*.
 stranger] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *strange*.
 289 *out*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *at*.
 371 *henceforth*] Q1-2; Q3-4, Collier, Hazlitt *hence*.
 383 *Ro.*] Q1-4; Hazlitt omits.
 389 *his Gorgon*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *this Gorgon*; Collier proposes but does not
 print *at this jargon*; Hazlitt *his jargon*.
 390 *Pan.*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 omits. The speech tag belongs to l. 391.
 Vpon] Q1-4; Hazlitt *I'll pawn*.
 Impostor] Q1-3; Q4 *imposture*.
 434 *To*] Q1-3; Q4 *Into*.
 439 *mysteries*] Q1-3; Q4 *mysterie*.
 446 *th'wert*] Q1, 3; Q2 *th'art*; Q4 *thou wert*; Collier, Hazlitt *thou'rt*.
 two] Q1-3; Q4 *too*.
 447 *thy*] Q1-3; Q4 *the*.
 482 *Alb. . . thine*] Q1-3; Q4 and Dodsley omit the entire line.
 507 *wee'l*] Q1-3; Q4 *Ile*.
 542 *God*] Q1-3; Q4 and Dodsley omit.
 564 *arches*] Q1-3; Q4 *Archers*.
 569 *cap*] Q1-3; Q4 *cup*.
 575 *Trincala*] Q1; Q2 *Tr.*; Q3-4 *Trincalo*.
 578 *my*] Q1-3; Q4 omits.
 579 *one*] Q1, 3-4, Reed; Q1HN, Q2, Collier *cur*; Dodsley *dog*.
 589 *speake*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *spake*.
 640 *hai*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 omits; Collier, Hazlitt *ha*.
 655 *your*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *no*.
 657 *and*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *and a*.
 Tri.] Q1-2; Q3-4 omit.
 675 *my*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *a*.
 679 *supple*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *supply*.
 685 *thus*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *this*.
 703 *appeare*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *become a*; Hazlitt *appeare a*.
 721 *like*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *like a*.
 729 *nere*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *never*.
 730 *designes*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *desires*.
 731 *Hilech*] Q1-4; Hazlitt *Helic*.
 732 *angles*] Q1-3; Q4 *Angels*.

- 733 *aspects of*] Q1-2; Q3 *aspects a*; Q4 *aspects, a*.
 736 *This*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *That*.
 749 *Abenezra*] Q1-2, 4; Q3 *Albenezra*.
 something] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *somewhat*.
 751 *Hiarcha,*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 omits the comma.
 Thespion] Q1-3; Q4 inserts a comma.
 752 *and*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 omits.
 758 *Tingle*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *Twingle*.
 793 *fingers*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *finger*.
 799 *swept*] Q1-3; Q4 *kept*.
 812 *siluer,*] Q1-2; Q3-4 omit the comma.
 826 *spots*] Q1-3, Dodsley; Q4 *pots*.
 836 *day*] Q1-2; Q3-4, Dodsley omits.
 837 *reuolution*] Q1-2; Q3-4, Dodsley *resolution*.
 847 *heare*] Q1-3; Q4 *here*.
 sir] Q1-3; Q4, Dodsley *sit*.
 849 *dry*] Q1-3; Q4, Dodsley *and dry*.
 867 *mue*] Q1-3; Q4 *misse*.
 868 *seare*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *seate*.
 876 *Weare*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *'Twere*.
 879 *all the*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *all*.
 889 *secrets of*] Q1-3; Q4 *secrets to*.
 920 *worlds*] Q1-2, Dodsley; Q3-4 *words*.
 927 *Cricca*] Q1-4; Collier, Hazlitt *Trincalo*.
 936 *And*] Q1-4; Hazlitt *An*.
 990 *vs*] Q1-2; Q3-4 omit.
 1003 *out-loue me*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 omits *me*.
 1007 *His*] Q1-2; Q3 *H'is*; Q4 *He's*.
 1016 *Not*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *Nor*.
 1041 *'Tis*] Q1-2; Q3-4, Dodsley omit.
 1044 *choak't*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *choake*.
 1050 *requited*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *required*.
 1077 *gaue*] Q1-2; Q3-4, Reed *haue*.
 1122 *owne*] Q1-3; Q4, Dodsley omit.
 1127 *staines*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *straines*.
 1129 *impaires*] Q1-3; Q4 *impaire*.
 1150 *Trincalo*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *Arincalo*.
 1153 *troubles*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *trouble*.
 1174 *great*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *great a*.
 1199 *roare*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *cry*.
 1226 *Gold-smithes*] Q1-3; Q4 *Goldsmith*.

- 1230 *hold out, hold out*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *hold out*.
 1232 *I am rob'd, I am rob'd*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *I am rob'd*.
 1262 *to th'open*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *t'open*.
 1270 *one*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *on*.
 1277 *Harpax, Furbo*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *Furbo, Harpax*.
 1289 *Bavilona*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *Bevilona*.
 1307 *Act. 3. Scen. 4*] Q1-3; Q4 *Act. 2. Scene. 9*.
 1310 *soare*] Q1-4; Dodsley *soak*.
 1325 *I'de*] Q1-3; Q4 *I'*.
 1330 *Apuleius by*] Q1-4; Collier, Hazlitt *Apuleius was by*.
 1339 *am I*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *I am*.
 1344 *Nay more*] Q1-3; Q4 *Nay, more*.
 1351 *prink't*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *trink't*.
 1359 *and fifty*] Q1-3; Q4 *and a fifty*.
 1412 *pound*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *pounds*.
 1414 *hearded*] Q1, 3, Hazlitt; Q4, Collier *hoarded*; Q2 apparently reads *hearded*, but this has been cancelled to *hoarded* by a manuscript correction in the collated (Ingall) copy. The correct reading is no doubt *hearded*, which sustains the metaphor of *yoke*.
 1416 *paire of*] Q1-3; Q4 omits.
 1418 *to*] Q1-3; Q4 *into*.
 1462 *well as*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *well, as*.
 1497 *kind of*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *kind a*.
 1519 *and*] Q1-4; Hazlitt *sad*.
 1522 *sad*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 omits.
 1544 *drown'd mee*] Q1-2, 4; Q3 omits *mee*.
 1547 *trauell*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *trauaile*.
 1549 *that's*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *that*.
 1552 *growes*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *comes*.
 1559 *song in single column*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *song in double column*.
 1571 *Foe*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *Fo!*
 1580 *his*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *this*.
 1611 *glasses*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *looking-glasses*.
 1613 *past*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *fast*.
 1614 *tunn'd*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *tun'd*.
 1623 *Feich't*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *Fetch't out*.
 1630 *Tr.*] Q1-2; Q3-4 omit.
 1633 *his*] Q1-4; Hazlitt *her*.
 1644 *y'ad*] Q1-3; Q4 *y'had been*.
 1645 *passage*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *passe*.
 1647 *at*] Q1-3; Q4 *of*.

- 1663 *tunn'd*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *tun'd*.
Ha; ha, ha] Q1-3; Q3-4 *Ha, ha, ha, ha*.
- 1679 *threatens*] Q1-4; Hazlitt *sweetens*. An emendation is needed here because the sense is not parallel to what precedes, though the *so* argues that a parallel figure is desired. Some verb meaning to increase or intensify is desired—perhaps *seasons* or *heightens*.
- 1697 *Maister friend*] Q1, 3; Q2 *Maister, friend*; Q3 *Masters friend*.
- 1700 *worne*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *wore*.
- 1716 *one*] Q1-3; Q4 *on*.
- 1719 *ill*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *all*.
- 1735 *Pandolfo's*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *Pandolfo*.
- 1738 *not I*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *I not*.
- 1742 *Scen. 3*] Q2-4; Q1 *Scen. 4*.
- 1746 *melted*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *molted*.
- 1787 *what Jewels*] Q1-2; Q3-4 place this in the next line.
- 1789 *of*] Q1; Q2-4, Collier, Hazlitt *off*.
- 1790 *of*] Q1; Q2-4, Collier, Hazlitt *off*.
- 1840 *That*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *Then*.
- 1849 *sir*] Q1-3; Q4 omits.
- 1863 *lookes*] Q1-3; Q4 *look*.
- 1868 *ghost*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *shape*.
- 1886 *this word*] Q1-4; Collier, Hazlitt *these words*.
- 1888 *my*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *thy*.
- 1889 *Le.*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 omits.
- 1915 *gentlewomans*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *Gentlemen*.
- 1922 *Act. 4*] Q2-4; Q1 *Act. 2*.
- 1928 *on*] Q1; Q2-4, Collier, Hazlitt *one*.
- 1964 *sirra*] Q1-2; Q3-4 omit.
- 1996 *and wide*] Q1; Q2 *and large*; Q3-4, Collier, Hazlitt *as wide*.
- 2009 *Sir*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 omits.
- 2032 *my*] Q1-3; Q4 *mine*.
- 2060 *disswade*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *perswade*.
thence] Q1-2; Q3-4 *hence*.
- 2065 *went*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *tooke*.
- 2100 *and*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *or*.
- 2102 *Makes*] Q1-3; Q4 *Wakes*.
- 2112 *root*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *necke*.
- 2135 *most*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 omits.
- 2153 *Sir*] Q1-2; Q3-4 omit.
- 2175 *flesh*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *selfe*.
- 2186 *I see*] Q1-3; Q4 omits *I*.

- 2188 *transform'd*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *chang'd*.
 2195 *faire*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *yong*.
 2212 *him*] Q1-2; Q3-4 omit.
 2215 *bed-chamber*] Q1-3; Q4 *Bed-hamber*.
 2220 *fashion*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *fashions*.
 2221 *Gentlemanly*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *Gentleman-like*.
 2226 *And*] Q1-3; Q4 *An*.
 2236 *thy*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 omits.
 2303 *And then*] Q1-3; Q4 *And what then*.
 2312 *one*] Q1-3; Q4 *her own*.
 2326 *furie*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *furt*.
 2343 *owne*] Q1-2; Q3-4 omit.
 2430 *gladnesse*] Q1-3; Q4 *goodnesse*.
 2439 *Act. 5. Scen. 3*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 omits.
 2443 *powr'd*] Q1-4; Hazlitt *prov'd*.
 2457 *dangers*] Q1-3; Q4 *danger*.
 2466 *by*] Q1-2; Q3-4 omit.
 2467 *my*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *your*.
 2478 *Pan.*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 omits.
 2486 *and*] Q1-2; Q3-4 omit.
 2492 *That*] Q1-3; Q4 *and*.
 2501 *sir*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *for*.
 2504 *I know*] Q1, 3-4; Q2, Collier, Hazlitt *you know*.
 2513 *deare*] Q1-3; Q4 omits.
 2523 *of*] Q1-3; Q4 *for*.
 2536 *your*] Q1-3; Q4 *our*.
 2551 *discontentment*] Q1-4; Dodsley, Reed *discontent*.
 2571 *a bed-fellow*] Q1-3; Q4 *bad-fellow*.
 2575 *that*] Q1-3; Q4 *I that*.
 2617 *am I*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *I am*.
 2622 *a*] Q1-3; Q4 omits.
 2630-34 *Tr. See . . . morning*] Q1-2; Q3-4 print as prose.
 2640 *Ha, ha*] Q1-2; Q3-4 *ha, ha, ha*.
 2655 *must*] Q1-4; Hazlitt *can't*.
 2686 *my*] Q1-2; Q3-4 omit.
 2703 *throw*] Q1; Q2-4, Collier, Hazlitt *through*.
 2712 *That*] Q1-2; Q3-4 place in the preceding line.
 spoken] Q1-2; Q3-4 *spoke*.
 2731 *slau'ry*] Q1, 3-4; Q2 *dotage*.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

TITLE PAGE

Nicholas Okes] London printer in Foster Lane, 1606–1639. He was apprenticed to William King, 1596–1604; admitted a freeman of the Company, 1603; and became a master printer, 1606, having succeeded to the business of Thomas Judson, founded in 1586. His device was an oak tree (R. B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers . . . 1557–1640* [1910], p. 206). Th. Heywood in *An Apology for Actors* (1612), sig. G4^r, wrote “to my approued good Friend, Mr. *Nicholas Okes*,” who was “so careful, and industrious, so serious and laborious to doe the Author all the rights of the press, I could not choose but gratulate your honest indeauours with this short remembrance.” To judge from the printing of *Albumazar*, Heywood’s compliment was fully justified.

Okes was the printer of the following plays: Robert Armin, *The History of the two Maids of More-clacke* (1609); Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1635); Chapman, *The Conspiracie, and Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byron* (1625); Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, Pt. I (1615); Ford, *Tis Pitty Shees a Whore* (1633); Gwinne, *Vertumnus* (1607); Th. Heywood, *The Brazen Age* (1613), *The Silver Age* (1613), *The Foure Prentices* (1632), *The Iron Age*, Pts. I–II (1632), *A Mayden-Head well lost* (1634), *The Royall King* (1637); Markham, *The dumbe Knight* (1608); Marston, *The Insatiate Countess* (1616); Rutter, *The Shepheards Holy-Day* (1635); Shakespeare, *Othello* (1622); Webster, *The White Diuel* (1612), *The Dutchesse of Malfy* (1623); anon., *Mucedorus* (1615); and Tomkis, *Lingua* (1617).

Walter Burre] A London bookseller, 1597–1622. His shop was The Crane, St. Paul’s Churchyard (McKerrow, *Dictionary*, p. 56). How large a share Burre actually had in *Albumazar* is obscure. Unless there was some secret agreement about the purchase, he was probably only the bookseller handling the sale for Okes. The entries in the *Stationers’ Register* (for which see above, pp. 66–68) suggest that Okes was the sole owner. Okes alone registered the play in 1615, and he alone assigned it to his son John in 1630. Burre’s name is never mentioned.

Burre was the publisher of the following plays: *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1613); Jonson’s *Every Man in his Humour* (1601), *The Fountaine of Self-Loue* (1601), *Catiline* (1611), *The Alchemist* (1612); Middleton, *A Mad World* (1608); Nashe, *Summers last will* (1600). Burre bought, but did not himself publish, another of the Cambridge plays produced before the King, G. Ruggle’s *Ignoramus* (*ibid.*).

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

2 *Albumazar*] Abu Ma'shar Ja'far ben Muhammad al-Balkhi (*d.* 886) was considered the greatest of the ninth-century Arabian astrologers. The wide diffusion of his views was begun by the Latin translation of his three leading works, published at Augsburg in 1489, *De Magnis Conjunctionibus*, *Introductorium in Astronomiam*, and *Flores Astrologici* (Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era* [New York, 1920], I, 649-652). In the first he stated that the world was created when the seven planets were in conjunction in the first degree of Aries and would be destroyed at a conjunction in the last degree of Pisces, a doctrine which coincided with, and doubtless supported, the medieval view that the earth would be overcome by flood rather than by fire. His theories were popular material for Renaissance atheists, who "With *Albumazar* . . . holde that his [Mose's] leading the Chyldren of Israel ouer the Red-sea, was no more but obseruing the influence of Starres, and wayning season of the Moone that withdraweth the Tydes" (Th. Nashe, *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow [1904], II, 116); repeated verbatim in Richard Brathwait, *A survey of history* (1638), pp. 274-275. "*Albumazar* also is as diuellish as the rest, heaping impietie on impietie; affirming that he that prayes to God in the houre in which the Moone with the head of the Dragon is ioyned to *Iupiter*, shall obtaine whatsoeuer hee asketh" (John Melton, *Astrologaster* [1620], p. 37; drawn from Gregory Reisch, *Margarita Philosophica* [Basle, 1508], sig. x4^v). John Skelton attests the popularity of Albumazar's books as astrological manuals (*Poems*, ed. Philip Henderson [1931], pp. 74, 354). Tomkis, of course, takes the name from Porta and rhymes it (l. 118) with *gaze afarre*.

3 *Ronca*] The name is borrowed from Porta. Since Ital. *ronca* means *hook* and since thefts of clothing and linen from houses were often accomplished by means of hooks (see *Albumazar*, 1280, "hooking cloathes at windoes"), the name fits the character.

4 *Harpax*] Arpione in *Astrologo*. The name may be a punning cognate of *arpagone* (Lat. *harpago*), a grappling hook.

5 *Furbo*] Gramigna in *Astrologo*. John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (1611), defines *furbo* as "a cheater, a cunnie-catcher, a setter, a crossebiter."

8 *Trincalo*] This name is substituted for the term *vignarolo* (vine-tender, hence a rustic) in *Astrologo*. The name, which suggests *trincare*, suits the character (see *Albumazar*, l. 935, "I haue a veine of drinking"). Although Shakespeare's drunken jester is Trinculo, not Trincalo, the

latter name, as well as Antonio, probably came to Tomkis from *The Tempest* (ca. 1610–1611).

12 *Flavia*] Artemisia in *Astrologo*.

15 *Antonio*] Guglielmo in *Astrologo*. See note to l. 8.

PROLOGUE

17 *so great . . . a presence*] James I.

24 *Ladies*] See John Chamberlain's letter above, pp. 53–54.

27 *Latine*] University exercises were performed in Latin, and so were most of the academic plays. Of the four dramas which James saw at this time, only *Albumazar* was entirely in English.

ACT I, SCENE i

This scene corresponds in the main to *Astrologo*, I, i; but since Tomkis does not consistently follow the Italian, the notes will indicate outright translation.

The action occurs before the astrologer's house (see ll. 134–35, "I'll hear't at large aboue. *Ronca* stay you below").

37 *Mercurials*] Followers of Mercury or those born under the influence of that planet—in short, thieves. According to the doctrines of astrology, Mercury in an unfavorable aspect would produce "a great lyar, boaster, pratler, busibody, false, a tale-carrier, given to wicked Arts, as Necromancy, and such like ungodly knowledges . . . cheating and theiving everywhere" (Wm. Lilly, *Christian Astrology* [1647], pp. 77–78). The true Mercurial was glib, quick-witted, and notably light-fingered. Cf. *The Winter's Tale*, IV, iii, 24–26: "My father named me Autolycus; who being, as I am, littered under Mercury, was likewise a snapper-up of unconsidered trifles."

38–39 *My deere companions . . . of Theevery*] *Astrologo*, I, i, p. 305: "O miei cari compagni e commilitoni . . . in questa nobilissimo essercizio della busca." (This and all following citations are to Porta's *Le Commedie*, ed. V. Spanpanato [Bari, 1911], Vol. II).

44 *The Spartans . . . th' Arabians*] As part of their military training Spartan boys were encouraged to steal so that they would learn how to forage in time of war. The Arabians were notorious thieves, at least among the trading nations of the Occident (Sionita Gabriel, *Arabia* [Amsterdam, 1635], pp. 10, 204).

45 *Arabia, Foelix*] A weak jest. This was the name for one of the three common geographical divisions of Arabia—Deserta, Petraea, and Foelix, the last being the southern and most extensive region. "*Arabia Foelix*, for fruitfulness of the ground, & convenient standing every way toward the sea,

is one of the best cōuntries of the world: but the principal cause, why it is called *Foelix*, is for that it yeeldeth many things in abundance, which in other parts of the world are not to be had: as frācumsence, especially the most precious balmes, mirhe, & many other, both fruits and spices, and it yeeldeth withal, store of some precious stones" (George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole worlde* [1599], sig. C2^r).

47 *Your patron Mercury*] According to Roman mythology, Hermes (or Mercury) was the god of cheats and thieves, as well as the fabled inventor of astronomy. The astrological connections of the myth are obvious. Cf. note to l. 37 above.

48-49 *all the markes*] Mercury is astrologically a neutral planet. "*Mercurie* in all things is common and mutable, he is good with the good, and euill with the euill, with the Masculine masculine, with the Feminines feminine, hote with the hote, and moyst with the moyst, infortunate with the misfortunes, and fortunate with the fortunes, especially when hee is ioyned . . . vnto them, or beholdeth thē with some good aspect" (Claude Dariot, *A Briefe and most easie Introduction to the Astrological Iudgement of the Starres* [1591], trans. Fabian Wither, sig. D1^r). Likewise whatever planets stood in the "house of Mercury" kept their influences unaltered: see the table in Oger Ferrier, *A Learned Astronomical Discourse of the Judgement of Nativities* [1593], trans. Th. Kelway, fol. 36.

58 *And Homer filch't all*] "Among the many Stories contrived by his Admirers, there is one told by Hephaestion, which conceals a Meaning very different from its first Appearance. He says, 'That a Lady of Memphis, the Daughter of Nicarchus, by name Phancy, excelling in Wisdom, composed two Poems; the War of Troy, and the Wanderings of Ulysses; and laid them up in the holy Place of the Temple of Vulcan at Memphis; that Homer coming there, found means to get Copies of them from the Sacred Scribe Phanites, out of which he composed his *Ilias* and *Odyssey*'" (Th. Blackwell, *Life and Writings of Homer* [1736], p. 135, italics omitted).

59-70 *The world's . . . of theevery*] This passage was certainly suggested by Panurge's praise of debtors and lenders (Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, III, iv), as has been pointed out by Wilhelm König in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, IX (1873), 208-209; and by Huntington Brown, *Rabelais in English Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), p. 97. Tomkis follows Rabelais directly rather than Shakespeare's passage drawn from the same source in *Timon of Athens*, IV, iii, 438-39. See M. P. Tilley in *Modern Language Notes*, XLII (1927), 150 ff., for evidence that Tomkis knew French.

In his Manuscript Collections, Ingall ingeniously suggests a parallel in

James's first speech to Parliament, March 19, 1603: "For euen as little brookes lose their names by their running and fall into great Riuers, and the very name and memorie of the great Riuers swallowed vp in the Ocean: so by the coniunction of diuers little Kingdomes in one, are all these priuate differences . . . swallowed vp" (King James, *Political Works*, ed. C. H. McIlwain [Cambridge, Mass., 1918], p. 237). Another conceivable source is Anacreon's "Ode," No. 21. A translation of this ode appears in Holyday's *Technogamia* (1618), III, vi, sig. I^v.

The gnomic quality of Tomkis' verse is akin to that in *Wily Beguiled*, ed. W. W. Greg (Malone Society, 1912), ll. 1469-70: "This worlds the Chaos of confusion:/No world at all but Masse of open wrongs." But cf. also *Albumazar*, ll. 624-26 and note.

63 *meseraicks*] Sometimes called mesentery veins, which were said to "conuey the iuice of meate concocted from the stomacke, to the liuer" (Florio, *New World* [1611], sub "Mesenterie vene").

83-89 *If all . . . Albumazarrians*] "Se ben tutto il popolo fosse birri, bargelli, manigoldi, e tutta la città prigionì, galee, berline e forche, lo faremo star a segno; e doppo la nostra partita vi resterà un seminario de' pari nostri": *Astrologo*, I, i, p. 307.

93 *your great vertue*] Refers to Necessity mentioned in l. 76.

95 *lodg'd*] Located, doubtless in the specific sense of discovering the "lodge," the hiding place of a buck.

103 *Necromancy*] The most heinous part of black magic because it concerned dealings with the dead, sometimes merely to learn through them of the future, sometimes, as a part of witchcraft, to accomplish certain tasks. This kind of sorcery was not an integral part of astrology (cf. *Albumazar*, ll. 985-86), though as a matter of practice many astrologers, despite their publicly expressed loathing of necromancy, were not above trying to dabble in it. Most of the astrologers connected with the Overbury murder—Bretnor, Fiske, Savory, Franklin, and above all Simon Forman—were variously suspected of attempts at necromancy, though, as Jonson points out, not one of them had mastered even the first step of commanding the devil: *The Devil Is an Asse*, I, ii, 1-10. Reginald Scot deals at some length with the direct use of astrology in necromantic practice: *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), ed. Montague Summers (1930), Bk. XV, chap. xx, pp. 250-251, *et passim*.

For Tomkis' softening of Porta's bitter satire at this point see p. 13.

110 *Fvrbo*] In *Astrologo* Gramigna (i.e., Furbo) does not enter. *Albumazar* understands the situation and is simply waiting to gain Pandolfo's further confidence; hence there is no need for a spying confederate in the old man's household.

115 *Gypsies*] The connotations of the term are well defined in an Act of the Scottish Parliament (1574) against beggars and vagabonds, among them "all ydill p̄sonis gayng about in ony cuntre of this realme vsing subtile crafty and vnlauchfull playis As iuglerie fast and lowiss and sic vtheris The ydill people calling thame selffis egiptianis Or ony vther that fenzeis thame to haue knowlege in physnomie palmestre or vtheris abused sciencis quhairby thay perswade the people that thay can tell thair weardis deathis and fortunes and sic vther fantasticall ymaginationis" (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* [1814], III, 87).

120 *fowle abundance*] Oxymoron.

123 *proiects*] Used here in the sinister sense of plot.

125 *this instrument*] Furbo points to the lute which he is carrying. See l. 108 and the Appendix.

133 *curious*] Delicate, requiring delicacy.

ACT I, SCENE ii

This scene corresponds in the main to *Astrologo*, I, ii; but outright translation will be indicated.

The action occurs before the astrologer's house.

145-46 *amorous . . . Ianuary*] Cf. *The Wonder of a Kingdom* (1636), II, i, in Th. Dekker, *Dramatic Works*, ed. R. H. Shepherd (1873), IV, 245: "Old Ianuary goes to lie with May."

147 *Cricca . . . counsell*] Cf. *Astrologo*, I, ii, p. 309: "vo' aiuto e non consiglio."

150 *Like arrowes 'gainst an Anuile*] A (proverbial?) expression for futility, to which I can find no English or Italian parallel.

152 *you of sixty*] Tomkis is inconsistent. Cf. l. 528, where Pandolfo speaks of himself as being seventy, as he is in *Astrologo*, I, ii, p. 309.

154 *herbinger*] The harbinger was the officer of the Royal Household who was sent ahead of the progress to obtain lodgings for the monarch's party. Houses thus reserved were indicated by a chalk mark on the door.

162 *Barbary*] An inclusive name for the regions along the northern coast of Africa (E. H. Sugden, *A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists* [New York, 1925]).

164 *Last*] A huge, indefinite number.

169 *Medea's drugges*] This is meant to be unintentionally humorous on Pandolfo's part because Medea, the mythical sorceress, attempted the cure of Heracles, who had been seized with madness.

170-71 *my Arteryes . . . moue the bloud*] Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood was not announced until 1616 and his treatise on the subject was not published until 1628.

173 *hence thou poore prop*] Pandolfo throws away his cane to prove his vigor. See manuscript note on this in the Appendix.

180 *strong water*] A medicinal infusion not to be confused with *aqua fortis*, nitric acid. Cf. Henry Chettle's jesting account of a medicine to cure the quartern ague: "A Gentlewoman . . . was induced to take this drench, from this wise woman, for euery drop of that strong water she must haue twelue pence" (*Kind-Hartes Dreame*, Bodley Head Quartos, No. 4, ed. G. B. Harrison [1923], p. 26). The term was also used jokingly for liquor, and this may be the sense here. Cf. *New Characters* (1615) in John Webster, *Complete Works*, ed. F. L. Lucas (Oxford, 1927), IV, 32: "Now his new Trade of brewing Strong-waters [gin] makes a number of madmen."

181 *quick's*] Archaic for quickens, restores to vigor.

182-84 *But after . . . a Sepulchre*] Cricca's warning in *Astrologo*, I, ii, p. 309, is characteristically more gross. When Pandolfo says that he has a good complexion—i.e., is in sound enough health to be married—Cricca replies: "Bisogna essere di buono cervello; se non, farete la morte del grillo [battering ram, hence phallus] che muore sul buco."

188 *this gray grauity*] Pandolfo points to his white hair.

195 *Be gone*] In *Astrologo*, I, ii, Cricca is not sent away on this errand; moreover, two of Albumazar's confederates have been listening throughout this scene.

ACT I, SCENE iii

In actual dialogue, though not in general situation, this scene differs widely from *Astrologo*, I, iii. In the latter, the astrologer's contrivances are introduced chiefly to serve as material for Cricca's scoffing puns.

This was probably staged as a threshold scene before the astrologer's house, though ll. 257-59, with the allusion to "the glasse within that chamber," imply some use of an interior.

202 *tick, tock*] Taken from the sound of knocking as given in *Astrologo*, *passim*. Despite Fleay's statement in his *Biographical Chronicle*, II, 261, this stage direction is not unique among English plays of the time. It was used also in *Club Law*, Hausted's *The Rivall Friends*, and J. Ricket's *Byra Basilica*.

203 *A good ascendent*] The ascendant is variously defined. The term was sometimes used as a synonym of horoscope, for which see J. Bullokar, *An English Expositor* (1616), *sub* "Horoscope." The more common sense, however, was that of the ascending astrological house (*New English Dictionary*), and this is the probable meaning here if any precise sense is intended.

207 *Phrontisterion*] The word coined by Aristophanes in *The Clouds*

to ridicule the house of Socrates. This part of Tomkis' play is an interesting example of borrowing, for, using only the basic situation as outlined in *Astrologo*, I, iii, he turns back for his comic material to Aristophanes' play as indicated. Aristophanes, Porta, and Tomkis have in common the foolish old man humbly visiting the quarters of the arch-charlatan, the list of wonders enumerated by a disciple, and the final gulling of a credulous, elderly fool; but Tomkis borrows from Aristophanes certain turns of phrase and idea. Cf. *Albumazar*, ll. 203-23, and *The Clouds* in *The Complete Greek Drama*, ed. W. J. Oates and E. O'Neill, Jr. (New York, 1938), II, 545: "*Strepsiades*. Bah! why should I dally thus instead of rapping at the door? Slave, slave! (*He knocks and calls*). *A Disciple* (*from within*). A plague on you! Who are you? . . . *Disciple* (*coming out of the door*). You are nothing but an ignorant and illiterate fellow to let fly at the door with such kicks. You have brought on a miscarriage—of an idea!" There is also an allusion to *The Clouds* in *Lingua*, II, v, as has been pointed out by W. P. Mustard, *Classical Weekly*, VI (1913), 175.

210 *a hundreth yeares purchase*] The annual return from a piece of property for one hundred years. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, IV, i, 23-25: "These wise men that give fools money get themselves a good report—after fourteen years' purchase."

218-19 *The armed fruit . . . Cranium*] Hephaestus split the head of Zeus and thus aided him in giving birth to Athena, goddess of wisdom.

223 *Apollonius the Magitian*] Of Tyana (*fl.* 1st century), was regarded by his own and later times as one profoundly versed in the occult lore of the East. The *Life of Apollonius* by Philostratus, who defends his subject against charges of sorcery, is the ultimate source for later allusions which are original with Tomkis; see *Albumazar*, ll. 751 ff., and notes below.

234 *the heavens incline*] The planets are favorably situated for or give an indication of his approach. Cf. ll. 345-46.

238 *Foure thousand yeares*] The age of the world was a subject of much dispute, though nearly all authorities agreed that the moment of Creation could be determined. For example, one of Tomkis' fellow students at Trinity, John Swan, in his *Speculum Mundi* (1635), pp. 16-41, argues that the universe was formed October 26 or 27 (the usual opinion was April 21 or 22), 3997 B.C. Accounts varied: see George Wharton, *Works* (1683), ed. John Gadbury, pp. 37-38, for Longomontanus' statement that the world was 5,554 years old in 1588; Lambert Danaeus, *The Wonderful Woorkmanship of the World* (1578), trans. Th. Twynne, fol. 76a [should be 80a], "As some doe suppose, since the time that the worlde was made, vnto this present year 1578 . . . are about 5298 yeeres"; and finally the list of seven Hebrew, three Greek, and six Roman authori-

ties, with their estimates, in Speed's *History of Great Britaine* (1614), p. 165. As a round number, five thousand years would be closer to the usual estimate than Tomkis' four thousand.

240 *perspicill*] Telescope, the first recorded use of the term. As this scene shows, Tomkis, along with other writers of his time, was enormously impressed by the possibilities of the telescope, which had been dramatically revealed by Galileo's *Sidereus Nuncius* (1610). Cf. *Albumazar*, l. 246 and note. See also H. G. Dick, "The Telescope and the Comic Imagination," *MLN*, LVIII (November, 1943), 544-548.

241-42 *that small Iliade . . . was desk't*] Allusions to this oddity are fairly common. It is mentioned in Gosson's *The School of Abuse* (1579), ed. Arber (1868), p. 16; in *Haue with you to Saffron-walden* in Nashe, *Works*, ed. McKerrow, III, 54, "like *Homers Iliads* in the compasse of a nut-shell"; in *A Strange Horse-Race* (1613) in Th. Dekker, *Prose Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1885), II, 336, "as a iewel comprehends much treasure in a little roome; and as that nut-shell held all *Homers Iliads* smally written in a peece of vellum"; in Richard Lovelace's *Poems*, ed. C. H. Wilkinson (Oxford, 1925), II, 167; and in Swift's *Tale of a Tub*, Sec. VII, in *Prose Works*, ed. Temple Scott (1897-1908), I, 90, "I have sometimes heard of an *Iliad* in a Nut-shell." Allusions occur also in such titles as *Homer in a Nut-Shell: or, the Iliad of Homer in Immortal Doggerel* (1715), by one F. G. (pseudonym "Nicky-demus Ninnyhammer") and a work ascribed by Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. P. Bliss (1820), IV, 7, to the astrologer George Wharton, *England's Iliads in a Nutshel* (Oxford, 1645).

The legend about this goes back to Pliny the Elder, who in turn says that mention of it occurs somewhere in one of the lost works of Cicero (*Natural History*, Bk. VII, chap. xxi [trans. Bostock and Riley, II, 162]). This feat of minute writing has apparently been performed. "Peter Huet, Bishop of Avranches, demonstrated that a piece of vellum, about ten inches in length, and eight in width, pliant and firm, can be folded up and enclosed in the shell of a large walnut, that in breadth it can contain one line of thirty verses, perfectly written with a crow-quill, and in length two hundred and fifty lines. Thus seven thousand five hundred verses can be placed on each side, and the whole sheet will contain the fifteen thousand verses of the *Iliad*" (Wm. Hone, *Every-Day Book* [London, n.d.], I, 1086-1087).

243 *Highgate*] A parish five miles directly north of St. Paul's on a hill three hundred and fifty feet higher than the Thames (Sugden, *Topographical Dictionary*).

246 *the bush of thornes*] The spots of the moon were supposed to form

the image of a man carrying a bush of thorns on his back, as in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, i, 61–63: “one must come in with a bush of thorns and a lanthorn, and say he comes . . . to present the person of Moonshine.”

246 *The Chrystall of a large Arch*] The lens of a large telescope? The statement, l. 248, “[It] Worke’s more then by poynt blanke,” suggests this meaning, while the entire passage concerns telescopic powers. The use of “arch” in this sense, however, is not recorded in *NED*.

The Elizabethans’ fascination by what Tomkis calls “refractions Opticke and strange” is everywhere evident. See, for example, John Dee’s “Mathematical Preface” to Euclid’s *Elements*, trans. Henry Billingsley (1570), sig. b1; Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Of the Vanitie and Vncertaintie of Artes and Sciences*, trans. James Sanford (1569), chap. xxvi, fols. 36b–37b; Pierre Boaistuau, *Theatrum Mundi*, trans. John Alday (1574), pp. 257–258; and Reginald Scot’s *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), Bk. XIII, chap. xix (ed. Summers, p. 179): “But the woonderous devises, and miraculous sights and conceipts made and conteined in glasse, doo farre exceed all other . . . for you may have glasses so made, as what image or favour soever you print in your imagination, you shall thinke you see the same therein. Others are so framed, as therein *one may see what others doo in places far distant*; others, wherby you shall see men hanging in the aire; others, whereby you may perceive men flieng in the aire; others, wherein you may see one comming, & another going; others, where one image shall seeme to be one hundred, &c. . . . There be cleare glasses, that make great things seeme little, *things farre off to be at hand*; and that which is neere, to be far off; such things as are over us, to seeme under us; and those that are under us, to be above us” (italics mine).

Contemporary dramatists made the most of these “perspectives.” Throughout Greene’s *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (1594) the “glasse prospective” is put to dramatic use, chiefly as a symbol of black magic. Later playwrights, such as Rowley in *A Shoo-maker a Gentleman* (1638), II, iii, and Middleton, *A Game at Chesse* (1624), III, iii, show feats of conjuring by means of mirrors. Webster, too, refers to such marvels in *The Dutchesse of Malfy* (1623), II, iv, 24–27, IV, ii, 77–79, 99, in *Complete Works*, ed. Lucas, II, 62, 95–96.

251 *his mule*] The Pope was supposed to ride upon a mule in emulation of Christ’s entry into Jerusalem. At least this is the implication behind Nashe’s allusion in *Haue with you to Saffron-walden* (1596), in *Works*, ed. McKerrow, III, 139: “Then he [Gabriel Harvey] hath a tale out of *Pontane* against *Bishops*, for their riding vpon horses, & not asses as *Christ* did.” In his note on this passage McKerrow traces the story in

Th. Twynne, *Schoolmaster* (1583), sig. Q1^r; and in *Mensa Philosophica* (1508), fol. 41.

252 *the English Colledge*] An institution founded at Rome by Gregory XIII during the 1570's partly as a refuge for English Catholics under Elizabeth and partly as a seminary for English candidates for the priesthood. The basis for the establishment was a hospice which had been founded in 1362 by a guild of English laymen in Rome for the purpose of entertaining English travelers and pilgrims (Cardinal Gasquet, *A History of the Venerable English College, Rome* [1910], pp. 27-28). The English College was especially prominent about 1610 because of the death in that year of Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, who had been closely associated with it. A greatly biased account of life in the College by one who spent some time in it is available in Anthony Munday's *The English Romayne Life* (1582), Bodley Head Quartos, No. 12, ed. G. B. Harrison (1925).

256 *some fifty miles*] The approximate distance between London and Cambridge. The context shows that the action of the play is set in London; see l. 268 below, "*Cambridge forty miles hence.*"

261 *Land-shappe*] Variant of "landscape."

262 *An honorable throng*] The Court.

270 *branch't*] The horns of cuckoldom.

275 *Coriatus Persicus*] Thomas Coryat (*ca.* 1577-1617), whose book of travels on the Continent, *Coryate's Crudities* (1611), enjoyed great fame, partly because of the mass of jesting prefatory poems. For the significance of this allusion in dating the play, see above, p. 51, n. 17.

282 *Prester Iohn*] Christian King of Abyssinia, "whome wee commonly call in English, Prester Iohn: but in Latine some tearme him, *Praeciosus Iohannes*, because of his ritches: but the most part *Presbiter Iohannes*: writing of him, that as he is a prince absolute: so he hath also a priestlike, or patriarchall functiō & iurisdiction among thē" (G. Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole worlde* [1599], sig. C8^r). Pretended knowledge about such distant Oriental rulers seems to have been part of the astrologers' stock in trade to impress the ignorant. For instance, in John Melton's *Astrologaster* (1620), p. 11, the charlatan boasts: "as for *Prester Iacke*, the Great *Mogul*, the Sophy of *Persia*, and the Great *Turke*, I can see them as often as I doe my Boy."

284 *Glosters listning wall*] "Above the quire, in an arch of [Gloucester Cathedral], there is a wall built in the forme of a semicircle full of corners, with such an artificial device, that if a man speake with never so low a voice at the one part thereof, and another lay his eare to the other, being a good way distant, he may most easily heare every sillable" (Wm. Camden, *Britannia* [1637], p. 361).

286 *something ceremonious*] Somewhat demanding of ritual.

287 *Stand thus*] Ronca makes Pandolfo face the audience while he himself, coming up behind the old man, claps the ass's ears to Pandolfo's head. Clearly, Pandolfo does not see the hearing device until l. 308. In some unrecorded production a *vase de nuit* may have been substituted for the ass's ears: see Th. Randolph, *Poetical and Dramatic Works*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt (1875), I, 46, "Albumazar's *otacousticon* was but a chamber-pot in comparison [to this nightcap]."

298-300 *Sing sweetly . . . still*] The same figure occurs in Simon Baylie, *The Wizard*, ed. H. de Vocht (Louvain, 1930), ll. 1824-26.

301 *Ioue's amorous will*] Zeus prolonged his night with Alcmene, who as a result bore him Heracles. Besides Plautus' *Amphitryon*, the university play *The Birth of Hercules* (ca. 1597) and Th. Heywood's *The Silver Age* (1612) treat this legend.

304 *O do not so*] Do not remove the otacousticon.

318-19 *Nay rather . . . richly*] If Flavia is foolish enough to marry you, she deserves to wear a pair of ass's ears.

ACT I, SCENE iv

There is no scene corresponding to this in *Astrologo*. In the latter the same information which Cricca brings has been gathered in the past. When Tomkis follows Porta in this scene, he does so from *Astrologo*, I, ii.

The action occurs as in the preceding scene, doubtless at the threshold of the astrologer's house.

326 *Gorgonian*] The word is used here in the sense of surprising rather than of dreadful. See note to l. 389.

329 *intelligencers*] Spies.

340-41 *She . . . replies*] *Astrologo*, I, ii, p. 310: "[Lelio] mi [Pandolfo] fe' rispondere che in casa sua non si dilettauano di anticaglie ma di modernaglie, e molte altre parole ingiuriose."

344 *Maugre*] In spite of. Cf. Baylie, *Wizard*, ed. de Vocht, ll. 1112-13: "Maugre my Brothers Rhetorick he shall not haue her."

345 *inclin'd*] See note to l. 234. The suggestible Pandolfo adopts Ronca's language.

348-51 *The high Almanacke . . . Astrologer*] *Astrologo*, I, ii, p. 310: "un certo todesco indiano di lá della Trabisona, dalla fin del mondo, astrologo mirabile e negromante."

352 *Albumazarro*] *Astrologo*, I, ii, p. 311: "e chiamasi Albumazzaro meteoroscopico."

354 *As hee . . . in Title*] *Astrologo*, I, ii, p. 311: "Come è solo nella scienza, è così solo nel nome."

355-56 *Hee tels . . . himselfe*] An allusion to the malpractice of horary astrology, by which the astrologer professed to be able to answer specific questions and especially to direct his clients to articles which they had lost. The reliance of the poor on this branch of the pseudo science furnished even the most prominent astrologers with much of their work. For example, the unpublished manuscript of Geoffrey Le Neve's *Vindicia Astrologiae Iudiciariae* (ca. 1635; now in the William Andrews Clark Library, Los Angeles) contains six hundred astrological calculations made in the course of his own practice, and virtually all are horary. See also Wm. Lilly's *Life and Times* (1822), pp. 35, 61, *et passim*.

Satire of horary astrologers for conniving with thieves or for themselves stealing is very common. See, for instance, "Merrie conceited Iests" (1627) in Geo. Peele, *Works*, ed. A. H. Bullen (1888), II, 297-299; Henry Chettle, *Kind-Hartes Dreame*, ed. G. B. Harrison (1923), pp. 49 ff.; John Melton, *Astrologaster* (1620), pp. 6-7; *The Puritaine* (1607), I, iv, IV, ii, in C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Shakespeare Apocrypha* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 225-228, 242-245; *Any Thing for a Quiet Life* (1662), V, i, 371, and *The Dutchesse of Malfy* (1623), II, iii, 27-28, both in John Webster, *Works*, ed. Lucas, IV, 123, II, 60; and *The Faire Maide of the Inne* (1647), IV, ii, in Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Works*, ed. A. Glover and A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1905-1912), IX, 194 ff.

ACT I, SCENE V

This corresponds in the main to *Astrologo*, I, iv; but outright translation will be indicated. The allusions to Galileo are original with Tomkis.

The action remains before the astrologer's house.

367 *Galilæo at Padua*] See Introduction, p. 50.

369 *the hornes of Aries*] Aries (the Ram) is the first of the zodiacal signs, that which the sun supposedly enters on March 21, if one ignores the precession of the equinoxes; but Albumazar's allusion here is first of all marital, rather than astronomical, and concerns the horns of cuckoldom. Yet his pretended discovery of stars and planets recalls the sensational findings announced in Galileo's *Sidereus Nuncius* (1610). Cf. notes to *Albumazar*, ll. 240, 246, 826.

371 *Sidera Pandolfæa*] Another glance at Galileo's *Sidereus Nuncius*, in which he announced that the newly found Moons of Jupiter were to be called the Medicean stars in honor of his patron Cosimo (*The Sidereal Messenger*, trans. E. S. Carlos [1880], pp. 1-6).

376-79 *th' East Indy company . . . voyage of Magores*] See Introduction, p. 51.

383 *Speed*] John Speed (1542-1629) published two works in 1611,

History of Great Britain and a sequel entitled *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*. See Introduction, p. 50.

383 *Hollingshead*] Raphael Holinshed (d. 1580?) was the prime mover in the *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577), part of which he wrote himself.

383 *The perpetual motion*] Mention of such contrivances occurs in Dee's "Mathematical Preface" to Billingsley's translation of Euclid's *Elements* (1570), sigs. d2^v and c4^v. See also the cut and explanation of a model of the world, made by Cornelius Drebbel of Holland and presented to James I, in Th. Tymme, *A Dialogue Philosophicall* (1612), pp. 61-62. This was moved by "a fierie spirit" enclosed in the axle.

385 *Mahomets returne*] Hazlitt's Dodsley, XI, 318, in a note on this passage says: "The Christians believed that the Mohammedans awaited the Prophet's return, because he had prophesied that a man whose name and father were the same as his own would come to rule the earth." A less recondite and more probable source for the allusion is the rather gross joke about the Prophet's return which was current among the Christians. R[obert] B[aron], *Mirza* (1655?), p. 169: "*Mahomet the Saracen Law giver died in his 63. year . . . giving his seduced sect a promise of his Resurrection the third day after; till when they kept him unburied, and as Anthonius writes, 30. daies after the reckoning; till smelling he was a liar, the air being infected with the monstrous stink of his carkass . . . he was purified, entombed, and laid in a new Sepulcher, at Medina Talnby. . . .*"

387 *Ottoman*] Ruler of the Turks. No specific allusion is intended here, though the reference is doubtless a result of the talk, ll. 375 ff., about voyages to the East and gifts to native rulers.

389 *his Gorgon*] Since we may suppose that the astrologer presented an awe-inspiring appearance, the meaning is clear and Hazlitt's emendation to *jargon* cannot stand. Cf. l. 326, "These strange Gorgonian instruments." If any emendation is necessary, "this" for "his" would be more satisfactory and would have the authority of Q2.

390 *Vpon my life . . . Impostor*] Ironical foreshadowing, since the next two scenes show that in a choice between his own safety and the astrologer's honesty, Cricca involuntarily chooses the latter.

392 *th'next Summers warres*] See Introduction, p. 50.

398 *Cham*] Obsolete for Khan.

399 *Mercuriall intelligence*] The astrologer's private joke: he means "one of my thieving confederates." Cf. *Astrologo*, I, iv, p. 314: "Non sono calato più presto perché stava parlando con una intelligenza mercuriale."

400-1 *Y' are welcome . . . scruple*] *Astrologo*, I, iv, p. 315: "sia te venuti

in buon' ora, in miglior minuto, in bonissimo secondo, in felicissimo terzo, quarto e quinto." A scruple is a sixtieth part.

402 *houses of the Horoscope*] The full circle of the zodiac is divided arbitrarily into twelve equal segments called signs, each of which is named for a particular constellation. In casting a horoscope, the astrologer considers each of these signs a house, and each house as having special properties which are said to affect the powers of the planets within it. In horary astrology each house is supposed to contain the answers to certain types of questions. Of the sixth house, for example, Wm. Lilly writes in his *Christian Astrology* (1647) (cited hereafter as *ChrisAstrol*), pp. 53-54: "It concerneth Men and Maidservants, Gallislaves, Hogges, Sheep, Goats, Hares, Connies, all manner of lesser Cattle, and profit or losse got thereby; Sicknesse, its quality and cause, principal humor offending, curable or not curable, whether the disease be short or long; Day-Labourers, Tenants, Farmers, Shepherds, Hogsheards, Neatherds, Marriners; and it signifieth Unkles, or the Fathers Brothers and Sisters. It ruleth the inferiour part of the Belly, and intestines. . . ."

403 *fortitudes, and fortunates*] Planets favorable to one's designs.

415 *truck*] Exchange.

409-25 *You had . . . or liuing*] This information is given in a single speech in *Astrologo*, I, iv, p. 315: ALB. "Voi desiderate . . . in Barberia."

427-31 *Why stare . . . your businessse*] *Astrologo*, I, iv, p. 315: "Ma che motivi or vedo? *Albumazar*. Già sormontava negli assi e poli de' cardini celesti e vaneggiava tra gli eccentrici, concentrici ed epicicli: cercava alcuni punti felici per voi . . ."

433-37 *And since . . . hee's dead*] *Astrologo*, I, iv, pp. 315-316: ". . . e se il sole era entrato nel segno del Cancro . . . egli è morto, mortissimo, perché il raggio direttorio è gionto alla casa sesta . . . E già la luna scema se ne va alla volta di Capricorno." Needless to say, the astrological reasons given for Albumazar's knowledge are pure jargon.

434 *Cancer*] The fourth astrological sign, hence the fourth house, which concerned parents (*ChrisAstrol.*, pp. 202-219).

435 *radius directorius*] The precise meaning of this term is obscure. The word "ray" was sometimes used as a synonym for "aspect," and the adjective "direct" was used as an antonym for "retrograde" as applied to planets (*NED*), but there is no sensible combination of the two meanings here. Du Cange has nothing to the point.

436 *the sixt house*] The house of sickness, linked with the sign Virgo (*ChrisAstrol.*, pp. 243-296).

436 *Capricorn*] The tenth sign, linked with the tenth house, which concerned government and honors (*ChrisAstrol.*, pp. 444-456).

438-49 *with Capricorne . . . stabs*] Translated from *Astrologo*, I, iv, p. 316: "Guardatevi, padrone . . . mille punte."

ACT I, SCENE vi

This scene is virtually a direct translation of *Astrologo*, I, vi.

The site of the action is debatable. Harpax and Furbo, who have been lurking supposedly inside the house (cf. ll. 138-40), catch Albumazar's signal, enter, and pretend to stab Cricca. This might be an understandable accident on the street or the threshold of a house; but if this is supposed to occur inside, the assassins may be thought of as spirits conjured up by the astrologer, though there is nothing in the text to support such an interpretation.

ACT I, SCENE vii

This is also a direct translation of *Astrologo*, I, v. The notes therefore will not, except for special reasons, point out the Italian which Tomkis renders.

The action remains the same as in the preceding scene, which is annotated above.

478 *But thank . . . the blowes*] Unless we assume that Albumazar had actively intervened to shield Cricca from the pretended assault—and there is nothing in the text to indicate that he did—we have further evidence of his charlatanism in the implication that by some magic power he was able to nullify the effects of the planets. See l. 538 and note.

489 *Aquarius . . . Pisces*] The eleventh and twelfth zodiacal signs respectively. Again this is astrological jargon with the obvious linkage between the "watery" signs and death by drowning.

495 *raise his ghost*] Cf. note on l. 103.

499 *de priuatione . . . regressus*] A return from death to life is not permitted; source of quotation unknown.

500-1 *what a maister peece . . . eaten*] Cf. *Wizard*, ed. de Vocht, ll. 1782-90: "J know it [raising the spirit of one dead] is your only master peece/The mistery of your deep profession,/Profoundest craft & secret of your trade/Which therefore you refuse to prostitute/To every eye, because it tells the truth,/And can't so well dissemble the right cause/And author of this work, but doth confesse/Too plainly you converse with evill spirits/And hold intelligence with hell."

502-3 *a Planetary intelligence/Of Iupiter and Sol*] These were the spirits which, according to Neo-Platonic doctrine, were supposed to guide the sphere of each planet. Cf. l. 505. Jupiter is probably mentioned as the giver of wisdom, Sol as the giver of life.

521 *how now?*] Tomkis does not make it clear, but Porta does, that the astrologer's surprise is based on a pretended application of the rules of metaposcopy. *Astrologo*, I, v, p. 319: "Ma fermatevi, ché mentre sto ragionando con voi ho visto certe linee nella fronte, e mi pare che tutte le stelle siano congiurate a' vostri danni e sono corruciate e incolerite contro di voi. . . ."

524 *Saturne*] Cf. *Astrologo*, I, v, p. 319: "E perché le linee son tante colorite che paiono sanguigne, l'effetto sarà tra poco: un gran sasso vi caderá sopra il capo, che vi spolpará tutta la carne e l'ossa e se n'andarà in vento." The addition of the detail about Saturn argues no profound knowledge on Tomkis' part, for Saturn was notoriously the most malign of all the planets.

528 *Three-score and ten's return'd*] Cf. l. 152.

532-34 *The Starres . . . would ruin*] The theory alluded to depended upon a major cosmological tenet of the time, namely that the world was divided into two regions, the sub- and the supralunar. The stars and planets by their movement kept altering the nature of the influences exerted upon the sublunar world of the elements, which thus was maintained in a kind of balance. A full account is given in John Norden's *Vicissitudo Rerum* (1600), stanzas 85-96; but cf. John Rastell, *The Nature of the Four Elements* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, I, 11); *Du Bartas His Deuine Weekes and Workes* (1612), trans. Sylvester, 1st Week, 4th Day, p. 113; and John Swan, *Speculum Mundi* (1635), p. 334-343.

537 *Ægyptian Ptolomee*] Claudius Ptolemaeus (fl. 2d century, A.D.), whose two chief astrological works are the *Tetrabiblon* (or *Quadripartite*) and the *Centiloquium*.

538 *Sapiens dominabitur astris*] The wise man will rule the stars. This aphorism is discussed by virtually every writer for or against astrology in Renaissance times, but it did not originate, at least directly, with Ptolemy himself, because, although the *Tetrabiblon* and the *Centiloquium* show him to be far from an absolute determinist, the proverb as given does not appear in his writings. Though almost all authorities assigned the proverb to Ptolemy, a few disagreed. See Dariot, *A Briefe and most easie Introduction* (1598), trans. Wither, sig. R3^r: "For *Ptolomey* in his fift *Aphorism* of his *Centiloquium* sayth: The wise man may turne awaye or put of many effects of the starres when as he knoweth their natures, and prepareth himselfe before they woorke their effect, and *Salomon* sayth: a wise man shal rule the starres." See also M. Cognet, *Political Discourses* (1586), trans. Hoby, p. 188 (cited by McKerrow in Nashe, *Works*, IV, 364), to the effect that the proverb originated with a prince mentioned by Aeneas Sylvius.

Albumazar perverts the sense of the proverb by implying that mastery over the stars is a feat requiring the ability of a "wise man"—i.e., a master of occult lore; whereas the true sense was merely that the human will is stronger than the stellar powers: as a second astrological proverb had it, the stars incline but do not compel.

539-40 *the cap . . . ascendent*] The theory sometimes known as the doctrine of sigils held that objects made with appropriate ceremonies under the influence of certain planets thereby came magically to share the virtues of those planets. According to Lilly, *Life and Times* (1822), pp. 32-34, Simon Forman did a thriving trade in such objects, as of course did Lilly himself.

542-43 *God of warre . . . Aries*] The planet Mars in the first of the zodiacal signs—nonsense even to a believer, since this combination had no power to ward off danger.

544-45 *as unwounded . . . Thetis*] Common legend of Achilles' being vulnerable only in the heel by which his mother Thetis held him when she dipped him in the waters of the Styx.

548 *Sciofericall*] Variant of "sciatherical," i.e., concerned with the recording of the shadows cast by the planets, especially the sun.

549 *Azimuth and Almicantarath*] The first term means the angular distance from a given limit of a great circle of a sphere passing through the zenith and nadir. The second means small circles of the sphere parallel to the horizon, cutting the meridian at equal distances. Du Bartas, "The Columnes," *Deuine Weekes* (1612), trans. Sylvester, p. 374, asks pardon for defacing his style with barbarisms after referring to "the *Almyeantharats*, With th' *Azimynths* and *Almadarats*."

ACT I, SCENE viii

This corresponds in the main to *Astrologo*, I, vi; but outright translation will be indicated.

The action occurs on the street between the houses of Albumazar and Pandolfo.

556-57 *How right . . . in priuate*] *Astrologo*, I, vi, p. 320: "mira come subito in vedermi m'indovinò quanto mi stava nel cuore, e come intese quanto dicevi poco innanzi e lo burlavi e non gli volevi credere."

559-62 *In earnest . . . vulgar*] *Astrologo*, I, vi, p. 320: "Veramente non pensava che fosse astrologo da vero: lo stimava qualche razza di furfante, come se ne trovano tanti che si vantano d'esser astrologhi e ingannano la vil plebe."

562-63 *that sacred skill . . . actions*] Note that this passage has no source in *Astrologo* and thus is evidence of Tomkis' general tendency

either to omit thoroughgoing abuse of the art or, as here, to insert a favorable remark.

564 *arches*] Not translated from but clearly suggested by Pandolfo's remark in *Astrologo* I, vi, p. 320: "Vorrei aver un campanil in testa per stare più sicuro."

566 *Marble*] Conservative opinion held that the stars and planets were imbedded in solid crystalline spheres. See, for example, Palingenius, *The Zodiacke of Life* (1588), trans. Barnabe Googe, p. 212; and Th. Hill, *The Schoole of Skil* (1599), p. 11, in which the stars are conventionally described as "the thicker parts of their Orbs"—i.e., their spheres.

566-67 *I haue read . . . Moone*] Writing in the mid-seventeenth century, John Wilkins, *Philosophical Works* (1708), pp. 61-62, remarks that there were so many tales of objects dropping from the moon that "if a Whirlwind did chance to snatch any thing up, and afterwards rain it down again, the ignorant Multitude were apt to believe that it dropt from Heaven."

ACT II, SCENE I

The general situation corresponds to that in *Astrologo*, II, i; but Tomkis' dialogue is his own, and he completely avoids the excessive obscenity of his source.

The action seems to occur on the street before Antonio's house.

580 *passion*] Sometimes by extension, a love poem.

588 *Fortune*] This theater, built just north of Cripplegate for the Admiral's Men by Henslowe and Alleyn in 1600, was destroyed by fire in 1621 (J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses* [Boston, 1917], pp. 267-294).

588 *Red Bull*] London theater in Clerkenwell, built in 1605 for the Queen's Men (Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-310). The Fortune and the Red Bull had reputations for plays directed toward the groundlings. E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, II, 447, n. 2, cites Gayton's *Pleasant Notes on Don Quixot* (1654), p. 24: "I have heard that the poets of the Fortune and Red Bull had always a mouth-measure for their actors (who were terrible tear-throats) and made their lines proportionable to their compass, which were sesquipedales, a foot and a half." Cf. also other such evidence collected by T. S. Graves, "Some References to Elizabethan Theatres," *Studies in Philology*, XIX (1922), 323.

590-91 *your band's so stiffe and yellow*] The fashion of starching bands yellow is supposed to have begun with Mrs. Turner, who was beheaded November, 1615, for complicity in the Overbury murder, though actually bands had been colored earlier. The fad, which disgusted some observers, flourished until about 1621 and died within the next decade (M. C. Lin-

thicum, *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* [Oxford, 1936], pp. 156-157). Cf. Th. Middleton, *The Widdow* (written ca. 1615), V, i, 52-53, in *Works*, ed. A. H. Bullen (1885), V, 215: "hateful/As yellow Bands."

592 *Totnam*] Tottenham, then a village about five miles north of London between Stamford and Edmonton: Sugden, *Topographical Dictionary*.

594-95 *surround*] Inundate. Though C. T. Onions in the *London Times Literary Supplement* (April 19, 1939), p. 491, has noted an example of "surround" in the sense of "encircle" as early as 1611 (first example of this sense in *NED*, 1616), this modern meaning hardly applies here. Note the allusion to floodgates.

602 *the Progresse*] A glance, for the benefit of the courtly audience, at the highflown speeches made by the provincial authorities to the monarch on tour.

602-3 *What ha you read . . . eloquent*] A stock jest at a rustic's attempt to become courtly by memorizing compliments. Cf. Baylie, *Wizard*, ed. de Vocht, ll. 135 ff., where the country knight Shallow tries to "absorb" fine phrases by eating the paper on which they are written.

608 *take it*] Armellina gives her hand to be kissed.

613-15 *I loue you . . . your hands*] Suggested by *Astrologo*, II, i, p. 323: "Se tu vuoi essere mia moglie, dal primo giorno ti fo donna e madonna di tutte le mie robbe, te le porrò in mano ché le maneggi a tuo modo."

616 *earnest*] As a pledge.

624-26 *O lippes . . . but---*] A parody of Hieronimo's often burlesqued outcry in Th. Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedie*, III, ii, 1-3, in *Works*, ed. F. S. Boas (Oxford, 1901), p. 39: "Oh eies, no eies, but fountains fraught with teares;/Oh life, no life, but liuely fourme of death;/O world, no world, but masse of publique wrongs." Tomkis again parodies *The Spanish Tragedie* in a speech by Trincalo, ll. 1902-05; and this gives color to Boas' statement (Kyd, *Works*, p. xcv) that Kyd's play might have been seen at either the Fortune or the Red Bull (see *Albumazar*, l. 588, note).

ACT II, SCENE ii

Because this entire scene is translated from parts of *Astrologo*, II, ii, the Italian will not be given except in special passages.

The scene remains the same as that of II, i.

636 *three liues*] A lease which is to remain in force during the lifetime of the longest-lived of three specified persons.

638-39 *Serue . . . Deserue you*] Tomkis cleverly adapts one of Porta's

comic rhetorical devices which is not literally translatable into English. Cf. *Astrologo*, I, ii, p. 311: "Le credo, arcicredo, stracredo"; II, ii, p. 327: "Se non basta transformarmi, disformami, reformami e conformami ancora"; and *Albumazar*, ll. 718-19.

643-46 *I le bring . . . bargain*] Original with Tomkis. Cf. the mustering of such tailors as Francis Feeble in *II Henry IV*, III, ii, 146-65.

678 *Law French*] The jargon which arose and continued in English courts after the Norman conquest.

675-83 *O ho . . . endures*] This speech is not entirely in character, for it conflicts with Trincalo's obvious desire to improve his station.

686 *bray'd*] Crushed to powder in a mortar.

ACT II, SCENE iii

Virtually all this scene is translated from *Astrologo*, II, iii; hence the original will not be indicated except for special reasons. Though the speeches of Albumazar and Pandolfo are direct translations, most of Trincalo's speeches are in wording, if not in spirit, Tomkis'. Finally, the satirical asides which Gramigna (here Ronca) utters after almost every one of the astrologer's statements are happily cut to a minimum by Tomkis.

The action occurs before the astrologer's house or, less probably, inside it.

728 *Innes*] Houses of the zodiac, for which see note to l. 402.

731 *Hilech*] Hazlitt's Dodsley, XI, 336, glosses, "The name of Ursa Major in Greek." Obviously, however, all the chief planets cannot be looking down from this constellation. Since this is one of the few additions which Tomkis makes to the use of astrological jargon, the Italian gives no clue; but clearly "Hyleg" is meant. This common astrological term means the giver of life and concerns a reading of the position of the great luminaries. "The giuer of life is taken out of the principal places of the Figure (that is to say) of the Sunne, of the Moone, and of the Ascendant, of the part of Fortune, & of the degree of the last coniunction or opposition of Lights" (Oger Ferrier, *Astronomical Discourse* [1593], trans. Kelway, p. 9). The *NED* has no record of the astrological sense of the word earlier than Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Bloody Brother* (1625), IV, ii.

733 *fortunate aspects of Trine and Sextile*] "The *Sextill* and *Trine* aspects are arguments of Love, Unity and Friendship; but the [Trine] is more forcible" (Lilly, *ChrisAstrol.*, p. 106). The sextile aspect exists when planets are 180 degrees distant from each other, and the trine when they are 120 degrees apart.

735 *Thank's . . . them*] Further confirmation that the astrologer had

persuaded Pandolfo that he can manipulate as well as read the influence of the stars. See l. 538 and note.

747 *Southward*] Cf. *Astrologo*, II, iii, p. 328, "settentrione."

748 *Omar*] Abū-l-Fath 'Umar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāmī, the tent-maker (ca. 1038-1123), the great Persian mathematician, astronomer, and poet, best known today for his *Rubaiyat* (George Sarton, *Materials for the History of Science* [Baltimore, 1927-1931], I, 759). The name is an insertion by Tomkis.

748 *Alchabitius*] Abū-l-Saqr 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Uthanān ibn 'Ali al-Qabīsī (fl. middle 10th century). His works include *Alchabitii Adbilazi liber introductorius ad magisterium* (Venice, 1581), trans. Joannes Hispalensis, and *Tractatus notabilis Alchabitii de conjunctionibus planetarum* (Venice, 1485). See Sarton, *op. cit.*, I, 669. The name is an insertion by Tomkis.

749 *Hali*] This may refer to any one of a number of persons. (1) 'Ali ibn 'Abbas al-Majūsi (d. 994), a well-known medical writer (Sarton, *op. cit.*, I, 677) was, according to *Biographie Universelle* (Paris, 1854), *sub* "Ali-Ben-Al-Abbasal-Madjoucy," the author of a treatise translated as *De Judiciis Astrorum* (Venice, 1592). (2) Ali ibn Abi al-Rajjal (best known as Albohazen Haly) wrote *In Judiciis Astrorum* (Venice, 1485), a popular astrological manual, for which see F. Leigh Gardner, *Bibliotheca Astrologica* (1911), pp. 5-6. (3) Ali ibn Rudhwan (*Anglice*, Haly Heben Rodan) was known for his commentary on Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblon* (1484) and for certain meteorological treatises (Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 125; and L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, I, 110, 647, n. 2). The name is an insertion by Tomkis.

749 *Abenezra*] Abraham ben Meir Aben Ezra, the best known of the Jewish astrological writers, was the author of *De Nativitatibus* (Venice, 1485), which served as a sourcebook for William Lilly and other seventeenth-century English astrologers (Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 2). The associations of his name are well indicated by the pseudonym "Kinki Abenezra, a wandering Jew," attached to *An ever-lasting prognostication of the change of the weather* (1620?). The name is an insertion by Tomkis.

750 *Zoroastres*] According to Robert Allot, *Wits Theatre of the little World* (1599), fol. 151b, "Zoroastres King of Bactria, was the inuenter of the Art of Negromancie." The legend goes back to Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, Bk. XXX, chap. ii (trans. Bostock and Riley, IV, 422).

751 *Hiarcha, Brachman*] Iarchas, the elder and leader, but not the founder, of the Brahman sect in India, whose identity and magical feats are described at some length in Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Bk. II, chap. xl (trans. Conybeare, I, 225 ff.). The inserted

comma, which implies that *Hiarcha* is one name and *Brachman* another, has no authority from *Astrologo*, II, iii, p. 328, "Iarca bracmane."

751 *Thespion Gymnesophist*] The eldest, hence the leader, of the Gymnosophists (the naked philosophers) of Egypt, for which see Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, Bk. VI, chap. x (trans. Conybeare, II, 29). Like the Brahmans, whom they distrusted, the Gymnosophists were given to extensive practice in magic. In the Renaissance they were generally thought of as Indians (see Allott, *Wits Theatre* [1599], fols. 28a, 53a; and Robert Baron, *Mirza* [1655], pp. 213, 219–220); and were sometimes confused with Buddhists, as by Bullokar, *An English Expositor* (1616), who describes them as "Certaine Philosophers in India, that went alwaies naked, and liued solitarie in woods; the first beginner of which sect was . . . named *Buddas*."

752 *Gebir*] Abū Mūsā Jabir ibn Haiyān al-Azdi (*fl. ca.* 776), the most famous of the Arabian alchemists. There is still an extended dispute as to whether the Arabian was the same person as Geber, who, some authorities say, was a twelfth-century writer of Latin alchemical treatises (Sarton, *op. cit.*, I, 532–533).

752 *Budda Babylonicus*] The "Babylonicus" is attached merely for effect to the name of Buddha (*ca.* 552–*ca.* 472 B.C.), the founder of the religion which bears his name.

753 *Cabalists*] Those skilled in occult learning.

753 *Chaldees*] At this time, a generic name for astrologers.

755 *Stoopes*] Used in the hawking sense of "to strike the prey by dropping from a great height."

759 *my high shooes strait boots*] By 1585 boots, which covered the foot and leg and reached above the calf, had become fashionable. The mode was more and more widely accepted so that between 1625 and 1649 only the very poor wore shoes (Linthicum, *Costume*, p. 246). At this period we may assume that shoes were worn by rustics, boots by the prosperous city-dweller.

768 *setter*] One employed by thieves to lead on and spy upon an intended victim.

776 *Theourgia*] A variety of white magic ascribed to the Egyptian Platonists by which miraculous effects were produced through communication with beneficent spirits.

777 *Artenosoria*] The doctrine of antidotes (Hazlitt's Dodsley, XI, 338). The term does not occur in *NED*.

777 *Pharmacia*] The use of drugs, poison, and spells. That the term had a sinister meaning is evidenced by Florio, *New World* (1611), who says that the word was "Vsed also for a sorceresse or enchantresse."

778 *Necro-puro-geo-hydro-cheiro-coscinomancy*] A nonsensical coinage of Tomkis'. "Coscinomancy" is sieve magic.

786 *Neomenia*] Greek for new moon.

787 *Dicotima*] Half moon.

787 *Panselinum*] Full moon.

793 *new-pil'd*] Figuratively for newly formed or refurbished, though *NED* records no such use.

801 *lunary*] Silvery (?).

804 *Holland*] This was the name for linen made in two grades: coarse for linings and bedclothes, fine for shirts and other apparel (*Linthicum, Costume*, pp. 97-98). See "A Sexton," *New Characters* (1615), in Webster, *Works*, ed. Lucas, IV, 41-42: "Though one would take him to be a sloven, yet hee loves cleane linnen extreamely, and for that reason takes an order that fine holland sheets be not made wormes meate."

813 *Chargers*] Platters.

813 *Castig-bottles*] Utensils for sprinkling perfume.

821 *Magistery*] An alchemical term for the product of transmutation.

826 *The Moone . . . spots*] In the light of earlier allusions to Galileo and the absence of corresponding lines in *Astrologo*, this may reflect Tomkis' interest in the *Sidereus Nuncius*, in which the spots on the moon are discussed at length. See *The Sidereal Messenger*, pp. 15-38, especially pp. 22-28.

828-29 *one . . . worke*] An insertion by Tomkis.

848 *white Comfites*] Sweetmeats made of fruit preserved in sugar.

849 *dry sucket*] Fruit candied in sugar rather than in syrup.

849 *diet-bread*] A delicate kind of bread made for invalids. This antedates by two years the earliest appearance of this compound word in *NED*.

851 *Amber Greece*] Ambergris, used in cooking to prepare dishes of great delicacy. Cf. Shackerly Marmion, *The Antiquary* (1641), IV, in *Dramatic Works*, ed. J. Maidment and W. H. Logan (1875), p. 265: "a fat nightingale, well season'd with pepper and amber-greece"; and Massinger, *The City-Madam*, ed. R. Kirk (Princeton, 1934), p. 86: "Their Pheasants drench'd with Ambergreece." The detail is original with Tomkis.

ACT II, SCENE iv

This is adapted from *Astrologo*, II, iv. Tomkis begins with a soliloquy of his own invention and then translates selected passages from Porta, keeping the situation the same but inserting specifically English references.

The action occurs on the street.

867 *mue these Flagges*] In hawking language, shed these feathers. Flags are the second and baser order of feathers in the hawk's wing; hence figuratively here, Trincalo's rustic manners.

868 *Guild in the seare*] The meaning is obscure. Since Trincalo speaks in metaphors drawn from hawking, the gloss in Hazlitt's Dodsley, XI, 341, "Shine in the yellow part between the beak and eyes of a hawk," is probably right. This I take to mean, "flourish in my new condition." It must be added, nevertheless, that in the language of cock-fighting "gild" means to draw blood and "sere" a bird's talon. It is difficult to apply this image to Trincalo's apparent meaning unless we assume that he is thinking of the bloody concomitants of being transformed (cf. ll. 675-78, 686-88, and 720-21).

876 *a gold chaine*] Chains had once been the symbol of the nobility. In George Peele's *Edward I* (1593), VII, ll. 54-55, in *Works*, ed. Bullen, I, 141, Lluellen, Prince of Wales, is described as wearing one. In this later period, however, they were the fashion rather with the prosperous bourgeoisie. Cf. Th. Middleton's *A Mad World, my Masters* (1608), III, iii, 60-62, in *Works*, ed. Bullen, III, 311: "That's my grandsire's chief gentleman [steward] i' th' chain of gold: that he should live to be a pander, and yet look upon his chain and velvet jacket." Pandolfo later (l. 1160) values his chain at a hundred pounds.

879 *Mittimusses*] Warrants for imprisonment.

885 *buy . . . Heral*] The sale of pedigrees and the squabbles in the College of Heralds had long been scandalous. The disputes grew steadily more bitter under James I and came to a climax in 1616, when one herald duped another into granting a coat-of-arms to Gregory Brandon, the hangman of London (O. Barron, "Heraldry," *Shakespeare's England* [Oxford, 1917], II, 84-85). The allusion to a Welsh herald probably does not point to any specific person; for the only member of the College who might qualify was John Guillim, a conspicuously honest and able herald of Welsh descent, whose chief work, *Display of Heraldrie* (1610), was dedicated to King James. Rather, the expression was proverbial. Cf. *The Faire Maide of the Inne*, IV, i, in Beaumont and Fletcher, *Works*, ed. Waller and Glover, IX, 199: "Conjure! I'll tell you, all the divells names he calls upon are but fustion names, gather'd out of welch heraldry." Sir Thomas Overbury, *Works*, ed. E. F. Rimbault (1856), p. 68, characterizes a braggadocio Welshman as one who "above all men . . . loves an herrald, and speaks pedegrees naturally." The expression may have originated from the Welsh habit of giving extensive names joined by "ap" (son of;) at least this is the implication underlying the sketch of a herald by John Earle, *Microcosmography*, ed. W. H. D. Rouse (1934), p. 67: "He is an

art in England, but in Wales nature, where they are born with heraldry in their mouths, and each name a pedigree."

887 *Castles in the aire*] Cf. *Astrologo*, II, iv, p. 331: "Castelli in aria."

ACT II, SCENE V

This and the next scene are expansions of *Astrologo*, II, v.

The action occurs on the street.

928-33 *The chamber's fit . . . Cazimi*] *Astrologo*, II, v, p. 333: "La casa è molto a proposito. Io andrò a tôr le mie armi, astrolabi, meteoroscopi, e per via di azimut e almicantarato prepararò le cose necessarie. Voi andate a tôr li argenti e paramenti in prestito e l'altre cose che vi ho detto, e lasciate ordinato in casa che si sgombri la camera e poi s'orni."

932 *Cuspe*] "The Cusp or very entrance of any house, or first beginning, is upon the line [in the horoscope] where you see the figures placed" (Lilly, *ChrisAstrol.*, p. 33).

932 *Alfridaria*] Alfridary, a fixed and definite part: the earliest use recorded in *NED*.

933 *in Cazimi*] "A Planet is in the heart of the Sunne, or in Cazimi, when he is not removed from him 17. min. forward or backward . . . and all Authors doe hold a Planet in Cazimi to be fortified thereby" (Lilly, *ChrisAstrol.*, p. 113).

956 *Almuten Alchochoden*] "*Almuten*, of any house is that Planet who hath most dignities in the Signe ascending or descending upon the Cusp of any house, whereon . . . you require your judgment" (Lilly, *ChrisAstrol.*, p. 49). "The Arabians did further observe, what Planet had most essential dignity in the place of *Hyleg* [see note to l. 731], and with some aspect did behold that place, this Planet they called Alchochodon, or giver of yeers; and they were of opinion, that the Native might live the greater, or lesser yeers, which this Planet did signifie. . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 530.)

ACT II, SCENE VI

See the preliminary note to the preceding scene.

963 *gossips cups*] Cups used for drinking gossip, a warm, sweetened or spiced gruel mixed with wine or ale.

966-72 *This . . . Trincalo*] This soliloquy has the same point as that in *Astrologo*, II, v, p. 333, but is not a direct translation.

971 *he imp's his wings*] Engrafts new feathers upon. The process is fully described in Th. Bedingfield, *The Booke of Falconrie* (1611), pp. 97-98, 275-279.

971-72 *he imp's . . . with thought*] Cf. *Wizard*, ed. de Vocht, ll. 1105-12, and p. 151, note, for the frequent occurrence of this image in other

plays, especially Dekker's. To this may be added the fact that Massinger several times uses the same figure and much the same wording as Tomkis. Cf. *The Roman Actor*, V, in Massinger, *Works* (n.d.), ed. Wm. Gifford and F. Cunningham, p. 221: "How slow-paced are these minutes! in extremes, How miserable is the least delay! Could I imp feathers to the wings of time"; *The Great Duke of Florence*, I, i, *ibid.*, p. 226: "Imp feathers to the broken wing of time"; and *The Renegado*, V, viii, *ibid.*, p. 165: "strive to imp new feathers to the broken wings of time."

ACT II, SCENE vii

Since this scene follows *Astrologo*, II, vi, the Italian equivalent will not be given except for special reasons.

The action occurs on the street.

986-89 *Vnder . . . Eugenio*] This passage has no counterpart in the original, yet should not be taken as an expression of Tomkis' views in favor of astrology. Cricca, who seems here to think of astrology as a relatively worthy art, has been temporarily convinced of Albumazar's powers by the events of I, vi-vii, 458-552.

999-1012 *Lelio . . . will*] This emphasis upon the laws and obligations of friendship does not exist in *Astrologo*, II, vi, where a different social problem is stressed, namely how a son can overrule his father, the true head of the family. For the popularity of the theme of friendship in the English drama of this period (*Albumazar* is not mentioned), see L. F. Mills, *One Soul in Bodies Twain* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1937), pp. 245 ff.

1013-14 *You . . . purposes*] In *Astrologo*, II, vi, p. 335, this is given as an orotund platitude: "Non bisogna sperar se non nella fortuna, la qual suol trovar modo di sollevar l'uomo ne' maggiori suoi travagli quando manco si pensa, e abbassa chi sta piú al sicuro." Eugenio, amused by Cricca's commonplace fatalism, replies derisively, "Cricca, sopporti che la miglior perla cada in bocca al piú tristo porco?"

1016 *the oile . . . poison*] An insertion by Tomkis. "And note, that of the Scorpion is made an oyl which is good against the stinging of Scorpions: and so are lovesick youngesters cured: for when nothing will help them, they may again be healed by enjoying her who gave the wound" (John Swan, *Speculum Mundi* [1635], p. 492); and Pliny, *Natural History*, Bk. XXIX, chap. xxix.

ACT II, SCENE viii

This scene is a translation of *Astrologo*, II, vii, in which the only changes of moment are the omissions by which Tomkis makes the dialogue more concise.

The action occurs on the street before Antonio's house. Cricca's statement, ll. 1039-41, "Mark't you not, while/We talk't, how through the window she attended,/And fed her eyes on you?" is not sufficient evidence to show that Flavia actually was seen in the interior of a house.

1042-46 *And as . . . my heart*] E. Koepfel (*Studien über Shakespeare's Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker*, Materialien, IX [Louvain, 1905], 78) suggests that this is an echo of Romeo's speech before Juliet's window, II, ii, 3: "It is the East, and Juliet is the sun." This is quite unlikely, for Tomkis is translating *Astrologo*, II, vii, p. 336: "Veggio scoprire il mio sole: e come il sole sorgendo la mattina, vien il mondo a rischiararsi e farsi bello, che era dinanzi tenebroso e pien di orrore; così apparendo voi, mio chiarissimo sole, le tenebre e amaritudini del mio cuore tutte si fanno illustri, e mi riempie il cuore di dolcezza."

ACT II, SCENE ix

This scene follows *Astrologo*, II, viii, in design but not in detail, though ll. 1092-1100 are directly rendered from the Italian.

The action occurs on the street.

1101 *his loue, and the other's hate*] Love of him and hatred of the other.

1105-7 *I . . . sixteene*] Cf. Baylie, *Wizard*, ed. de Vocht, ll. 419-22: "or you Lady with what reason, that are in hot and youthfull fire can lie with a flake of ice, obdurate ice, whom your warm side is not able to dissolve into a drop of water." Cf. also *Wizard*, ll. 322-23, and de Vocht's notes, pp. 123-124, 129.

1110-11 *dye in the field in's quarrell*] Tomkis' heroines use masculine rather than feminine imagery—here of duelling, later of hawking.

1115 *Watching Candle*] A candle used at the watching of a shrine or of a corpse.

1121 *brayle*] To confine a hawk's wings with a brail, a girdle. Obedient, well-trained birds needed no brail.

1121 *huddle*] To cover with a hood. According to J. H. Schulz, *A Glossary of Shakespeare's Hawking Language*, University of Texas Studies in English (Austin, Texas, 1938), p. 193, "Falcons [female hawks] are kept hooded and perched on their cadge until suitable quarry is sprung or sighted. . . . If properly trained, the birds will sit immobile until they are 'hooded off' to dash after their prey." Despite the possible dramatic impropriety of putting such images into a girl's mouth, Tomkis employs the terms and figures of hawking vividly.

1122 *bate*] To beat the wings impatiently. Thoroughly trained hawks did not bate.

1145 *this night*] For the acceptance of the unities, see Introduction, pp. 15-16.

ACT III, SCENE i

Except for ll. 1155-63 this scene is derived from *Astrologo*, III, i.
The action occurs on the street before Pandolfo's house.

ACT III, SCENE ii

Except for ll. 1247-58 (for which see note below) this is translated from *Astrologo*, III, ii, to such an extent that it is impossible to give the Italian original for all the dialogue. Where significant changes have been introduced, Porta's text will be given.

The action occurs on the street before Pandolfo's house, which Pandolfo enters to discover the robbery.

1214-16 *I meane . . . Occident*] Cf. *Astrologo*, III, ii, p. 342, where Albumazar answers either jokingly or ignorantly: "Quando il sol vien verso noi dinanzi e i giorni son grandi, son naturali; quando vanno indietro e son brevi, vanno contro natura." Tomkis' definition is the correct one.

1214 *th' first mover*] The *primum mobile*.

1240 *ôj me*] Variant spelling of the cry in *Astrologo*, *passim*, "Oimè."

1247-58 *O . . . members*] Tomkis' insertion. In *Astrologo* Albumazar takes the situation calmly and merely reassures Pandolfo.

1261-69 *How . . . done*] See preceding note.

ACT III, SCENE iii

Except for ll. 1278-82, which are original with Tomkis, this scene follows *Astrologo*, III, iii, closely.

The action occurs on the street before Pandolfo's house, from which Albumazar's confederates enter (l. 1278).

1280 *hooking cloathes*] Cf. note to l. 3. A full description of this method of thievery is given in Th. Harmon's *A Caueat or Warening for commen cursetors* (1567), chap. iii, in *The Elizabethan Underworld*, ed. A. V. Judges (1930), p. 73.

1296 *Grauesend*] Sugden, *Topographical Dictionary*, says that this port, thirty miles below London, had an unsavory reputation as a thieves' hideaway.

1301-3 *Then . . . loose it*] *Astrologo*, III, iii, p. 344, is more bitter: "A tosare un'altra pecora che vuol fissar l'argento vivo con sughi di erbe: accrescerà il numero de' burlati e il nostro bottino."

1305 *properties*] *Astrologo*, III, iii, p. 345: "linguaggi."

ACT III, SCENE iv

This entire scene is original with Tomkis.

The action occurs on the street before Pandolfo's house.

1309 *mued*] Released; figuratively, in the language of hawking, moulted.

1310 *soare*] "You shall vnderstand that the first yeere of an Hawke, whether she be a Brancher or Eyesse, the first is called her sore age, and all that yeere she is called a sore Hawke" (T. S., *A Iewell for Gentrie* [1614], sig. C1^v).

1330-31 *We read . . . Man*] See *The Golden Ass of Apuleius*, trans. Wm. Aldington, Tudor Translations, IV (1893), pp. 76-79.

ACT III, SCENE v

The general development of this scene is the same as that in *Astrologo*, III, iv. Trincalo soliloquizes in the same vein as does Vignarolo; he is welcomed and paid by Ronca. But Tomkis expands the scene greatly, making the most of the comic possibilities in Trincalo's imagining himself a gentleman; and the dialogue is not translated directly except for *Albuzmazar*, ll. 1394, 1398-1401, derived from *Astrologo*, III, iv, p. 345.

The action occurs on the street before Pandolfo's house.

1351 *Æsop's Crow*] Jupiter announced that he would appoint the handsomest bird king over all the rest. The birds went to a stream and plumed themselves for the contest. The jackdaw (not the crow), realizing the hopelessness of his own dull feathers, decked himself with those which the other birds had discarded. Just as Jupiter was about to appoint him king, the other birds stripped him of his borrowed plumage. Cf. John Webster, *Deuils Law-case* (1623), IV, ii, 123-26, in *Works*, ed. Lucas, II, 292-293: "I will first Produce this *Æsops Crow*, as he stands forfeit/For the long use of his gay borrowed plumes,/And then let him hop naked."

1357 *Prime*] The then popular card game of primero. For a fairly extended use of the terms of this game in drama, see George Gascoigne's *Supposes*, III, ii, 1-18, in R. W. Bond, *Early Plays from the Italian* (Oxford, 1911), p. 39.

1358 *set*] Wager.

1359 *rest*] In primero the stakes kept in reserve, which were agreed upon at the beginning of the game, and upon the loss of which the game ended.

1364 *gleeke*] Another popular card game.

1365 *A mourneuall of Ases, gleeke of Knaues*] "A Mournival is either all the Aces, the four Kings, Queens or Knaves, and a Gleek is three of

any of the aforesaid" (Charles Cotton, *The Compleat Gamester* [1674], chap. vii, in C. H. Hartmann, *Games and Gamesters of the Restoration* [1930], p. 50).

1366 *Iust nine apeece*] Probably a reference to the fact that a mour-nival of aces counted eight points, and a gleeck of knaves counted one. See preceding note.

1367 *your dun cow*] Contemptuous allusion to his imaginary oppo-nent's horse.

1367 *three traine sents and th'course*] Almost any interpretation of this phrase is disputable. "Traine" seems here to mean some lure dragged along the ground to make a scent or trail. The dogs could then follow the scent at top speed, and the winner of the race would be the rider who first reached the hounds after they had finished their run. Other meanings of "traine," such as a particular gait of a horse, do not apply here.

1369 *next Cocking*] Presumably cock-fighting, but possibly the hunt-ing of woodcocks (first recorded use in 1696), since the context implies that hawking may be meant.

1369 *haggard*] A wild, fierce hawk, usually a female in her adult plumage.

1370 *stoopes*] See *Albumazar*, l. 755, and note.

1416 *Caroch*] Coach or carriage of state.

1417-18 *guarded*] Guards, which were ornamental bands or borders, usually of contrasting colors with the garment which they decorated, had been fashionable among the highest classes during the early sixteenth century; but at the end of the period and later, as this allusion suggests, guards were the badge of footmen and servants (Linthicum, *Costume*, pp. 150-151).

ACT III, SCENE vi

This scene is original with Tomkis.

The action occurs on the street before Pandolfo's house.

ACT III, SCENE vii

This scene is a free translation of *Astrologo*, III, v.

The action occurs on the street before Pandolfo's house.

1500 *nimmer*] Cant word for thief.

ACT III, SCENE viii

The verses and part of the dialogue are original with Tomkis, whereas ll. 1520-54, 1579-81 are free and slightly expanded translations from *Astrologo*, III, vi.

The action occurs on the street before Pandolfo's house.

1533 *gentlewoman*] Cf. *Astrologo*, III, vi, p. 348: "mercadantessa."

1556 *gridiron*] Trincalo evidently means to say "gittern," i.e., a musical instrument like the modern guitar.

1558 *Alcoch Dolash*, &c.] Apparently the name of a current song or ballad, which I have been unable to trace.

1575 *two wings*] An allusion to the visual image made by the lines on the page and an exceedingly clumsy pun on the roast fowl which would be an inevitable part of the harlot's banquet.

ACT III, SCENE ix

This scene corresponds to, and is in large measure translated from, *Astrologo*, III, vii. But apart from such minor changes as making Ronca a Welshman (Gramigna in the original acts a Spaniard), the chief divergence comes at the end of the scene. In *Astrologo* the peasant does not reveal himself, and Porta adds another scene (III, viii) in which the barrel, with the peasant still inside, is rolled to the sea for rinsing. Thus we do not learn of the peasant's escape until IV, vi.

In "The Lover in a Cask: A Tale of a Tub," *Italica*, XVIII (March, 1941), 12-13, I have discussed Porta's and Tomkis' handling of this material in the light of their possible sources: Apuleius, *Metamorphoseon*, Bk. IX, chaps. v-vii; Boccaccio, *Decameron*, Day 7, Novel 2; and an analagous folk tale cited by A. C. Lee, *The Decameron: Its Sources and Analogues* (1909), pp. 187-188.

The staging of this scene is a crux. See Introduction, pp. 64-65.

1590 *Spinola's Campe*] See Introduction, p. 50.

1638 *the great Turk*] According to Wm. Bedwell, *Mohammedis Imposturae* (1615), sig. N4^r, the Ottoman Sultan.

ACT IV, SCENE i

This corresponds to *Astrologo*, IV, i, but is not a direct translation of Guglielmo's soliloquy. Tomkis, having given the information about the trip to Barbary, ll. 130-32, 418-23, does not repeat himself here; whereas Porta has Guglielmo (Antonio) explain his plight once more.

The action occurs presumably on the street.

1668-71 *Thus . . . Country*] Expanded from *Astrologo*, IV, i, p. 352: "Ecco col favor del cielo da cosi crudel naufragio son pur gionto salvo alla patria mia." Nothing could better illustrate the conventionality of such references to "propitious stars" in the drama of the time than Tomkis' lines.

1679 *Threatens*] See Textual Notes.

ACT IV, SCENE ii

This is mainly a translation of *Astrologo*, IV, ii. Slight alterations occur in l. 1692, where Antonio immediately recognizes Cricca; in ll. 1717-19, where Tomkis inserts two lines of his own invention; and in ll. 1735-41, where Tomkis deals somewhat freely with the concluding lines of *Astrologo*, IV, ii.

The action occurs on the street.

1691 *As Iupiter did Amphitrio*] Not in the Italian. The same legend is referred to in l. 301, for which see note.

1699 *Th' Exchange*] Probably the Royal Exchange in Cornhill rather than the New Exchange opened by James on the south side of the Strand in 1609, because the latter remained for many years a much less popular place of resort.

ACT IV, SCENE iii

This scene corresponds to *Astrologo*, IV, iii, without being a direct translation.

The action occurs on the street.

1748-49 *Th'right eye's . . . neighbour*] The image is changed from that in *Astrologo*, IV, iii, p. 355: "Proprio fatto a stampa, ché un scudo non è così simile ad altro scudo come è costui a Guglielmo."

1757-61 *This is . . . cloaths*] Adapted from Pandolfo's, not Cricca's, speech in *Astrologo*, IV, iii, p. 355: "Non mi dispiace il principio. Mira con che bel garbo ragiona il furfante! oh come ha del naturale, come pompeggia in quelle vesti: cosa da spanto!"

1763-73 *No sooner . . . slaues*] Antonio's story differs in details from Guglielmo's, *Astrologo*, IV, iii, p. 355: "Sappiate che per andare in Barberia imbarcarmi su una nave ragusea. Il padrone che la noleggiava era uomo di suo capo; e quantunque fusse avisato da tutti li marinari non partisse in tal tempo che minacciava tempesta, pur volse partirsi con la tempesta. La nave diede su le sirti; e il padrone fu il primo in morire e in pagare la pena della sua temerità e ardimento. . . . Vennero i corsari e ne fêr prigionieri; scampai e mi presero un' altra volta; mi riscattai, sono arrivato a casa a salvamento." Though in the Italian version, as in the English, the other characters comment sardonically on the elevated style of this speech, Tomkis may have taken some hints from *The Tempest*, I, i.

1799-1802 *Humour . . . Yeomanry*] Tomkis adds vividness to *Astrologo*, IV, iii, p. 357: "Io non vo' piú moglie. Torniamo all' astrologo, ché ti ritorni in quel di prima e restituiscami l'argento."

1804-9 *Let him . . . for' st carriage*] An insertion by Tomkis.

ACT IV, SCENE iv

This scene is partly translated and partly adapted from *Astrologo*, IV, iv, the leading change being the expansion of *Albumazar*, ll. 1822-30, from brief lines by Artemisia and Guglielmo in the original.

For the location of the scene, consult Introduction, p. 64.

1855 *This is to wash it*] Armellina empties a jordan upon her master's head.

1856 *durtie whipstocke*] The first and only recorded use of the word in its transferred, contemptuous sense of a driver of horses.

ACT IV, SCENE v

This is translated directly from *Astrologo*, IV, v.

The action occurs on the street before Antonio's house.

1867-68 *Doubtlesse . . . father*] Note that the young man, who has previously shown no evidence of credulity, here accepts the apparent evidence of his own eyes and temporarily credits the astrologer with necromantic powers. This parallels Cricca's earlier, temporary loss of skepticism, ll. 559-63.

1888 *my*] The reading "thy," which has the authority of Q2, is preferable.

ACT IV, SCENE vi

The point of this scene is the same as that of *Astrologo*, IV, vi; but Tomkis does not translate directly.

It is probable that this was played as a threshold scene before Bevilona's house.

1902-5 *When this . . . cloathes*] A parody of the Induction to Th. Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedie*, I, i, 1-5, in *Works*, ed. F. S. Boas, p. 4: "When this eternall substance of my soule/Did liue imprisond in my wanton flesh,/Ech in their function seruing others need,/I was a Cour-tier in the Spanish Court./My name was *Don Andrea*." As Boas points out (*ibid.*, pp. xcii-xcvi), certain of the Cambridge playwrights took a lively interest in burlesquing Kyd's efforts, extensively as in the *Par-nassus Trilogy* and the anonymous *Wily Beguiled* (1606), or briefly as here. Tomkis had already made *The Spanish Tragedie* a special target for ridicule in *Lingua*. See also *Albumazar*, ll. 624-26 and note.

1907-1912 *Your worship . . . hogshead*] See note on this passage, Appendix: this should be tagged for Bevilona.

1912-21 *Pretty soule . . . it*] See note on this passage, Appendix: this should be tagged for Trincalo, Bevilona having finished her speech.

ACT IV, SCENE vii

This is a translation of *Astrologo*, IV, vii. In the Italian, however, the scene ends with Guglielmo's (Antonio's) complaint, so that ll. 1985–2004 are Tomkis' creation.

The action occurs on the street before Antonio's house.

1942 *my worship*] I myself.

1972 *Pythagoras rule*] *Astrologo*, IV, vii, p. 363: "Messer sì, se fussimo nel tempo di Pitagora, direi che quando mi sommersi morii e l'anima mia entrò in un altro corpo e son un altro." This was also a stock figure in English, an especial favorite with Middleton. See his *A Tricke to Catch the Old-one* (1608), IV, v, 76–79, in Middleton, *Works*, ed. Bullen, II, 337; and *Your Fiue Gallants* (1608?), V, i, 108–9, *ibid.*, III, 235. See also Shackerly Marmion, *The Antiquary* (1641), IV, 276–77, in Marmion, *Dramatic Works*, ed. Maidment and Logan, pp. 276–277.

1992–2001 *nice points . . . disadvantage*] This is a burlesque of the niceties of the dueling code which may well have been devised with an eye to James's views as expressed in his *Proclamation against private Challenges and Combats* (1613). At any rate, by 1615 feeling against duels was running so high, partly no doubt from deference to the King's wishes, that the Star Chamber voted unanimously against the ideathat a private duel had any ground of honor (A. F. Sieveking, "Fencing and Duelling," *Shakespeare's England*, II, 405–406).

The niceties of the challenge and giving the lie are well known to every student of Shakespeare, but see especially Saviolo's discussion of "Who is not to be admitted to the prooffe of Armes," *Vincentio Saviolo his Practise* (1595), sig. Cc3^{r-v}: "Forasmuch as Duello is a prooffe by armes, which appertaine to gentlemen, and that gentry is an honourable degree, it is not meet to admitte prooffe by armes to any but to honorable persons, and therfore as before ciuile iudges it is not permitted, that infamous persons can accuse anye other, so in the iudgement of gentrie, an honourable person cannot bee accused but by an honourable person. . . ." For the problems raised by some physical disability, see John Ferne, *The Blazon of Gentry* (1586), p. 319: "But if it so happen that the defendour is lame of a legge, or of an Arme: or that hee bee blinde of an eye, he may take such Armes and weapons, as be most fitte, for his owne bodye, and he shall offer suche to the Approuer as shall impeache the like member . . . from his dutye and office, in the combate, so that he shall be deprived of the vse of that member. . . ." In other words, here, unless Trincalo's opponent is willing to have five teeth extracted, Trincalo is safe from challenge.

2004 *Calais sand*] Dueling having been forbidden in England, affairs of honor were customarily held on the most readily accessible land outside English jurisdiction. The practice long continued. Cf. John Webster's *A Cure for a Cuckold* (1661), I, ii, 105, in *Works*, ed. Lucas, III, 39; and his *The Devils Law-case* (1623), IV, ii, 645-47, *ibid.*, II, 306.

ACT IV, SCENE viii

This is taken from *Astrologo*, IV, viii. Tomkis omits some of the repetitious dialogue, and in one place, ll. 2034-40, devises lines of his own.

The scene occurs on the street before Antonio's house.

2006 *Antonio*] Neither here nor in *Astrologo*, IV, viii, does Antonio speak, but Tomkis' stage direction recognizes his momentary presence, though Porta's does not.

2044 *as I am Antonio*] Because I am Antonio. Cf. *Astrologo*, IV, viii, p. 366: "Anzi, però l'ho sentito io perché son Guglielmo; se fusse il vignarolo, l'avria sentito il vignarolo e non Guglielmo."

ACT IV, SCENE ix

This is a translation of *Astrologo*, IV, ix, with one important alteration. In the Italian, Cricca explains his plot in great detail, but Tomkis is more subtle and hints at, rather than explains, the scheme. The change is well advised, for the audience is either kept in suspense or allowed to congratulate itself on its cleverness in seeing through Cricca's machinations.

The action occurs on the street before Antonio's house.

ACT IV, SCENE x

This scene is original with Tomkis except for Trincalo's opening soliloquy, which is translated from *Astrologo*, IV, x, pp. 369-370.

The action occurs on the street before Antonio's house.

2142 *A gleeke of Marriages*] A set of three. See *Albumazar*, l. 1365 and note.

ACT IV, SCENE xi

This scene is a translation of *Astrologo*, IV, x, with some omissions and insertions as indicated in the notes.

The action suggests a scene on the threshold of Antonio's house or perhaps on the street before it. The interior is momentarily used when Trincalo falls through the trapdoor, l. 2223.

2168-79 *sweete Maister . . . counsell*] Dialogue original with Tomkis.

2175 *Kitchin-stuffe*] Drippings, which were often sold to chandlers. Cf. Baylie, *Wizard*, ed. de Vocht, ll. 1023-26: "Thou varnisht swine,

thou tub of kitchen stuff,/Goe to the Chandlers with thy foggy corps,
And make good use of thy ill gotten greese,/Be turnd to lights of tenn
i'th pound. . . ."

2191-92 *fye on . . . Pox*] This has no source in *Astrologo*. Note that this, like ll. 675-82 (also original with Tomkis), reveals a genuine sharpness against social climbing.

2203-32 *Fetch mee . . . haue him*] The actual dialogue is not translated, though the incident of trapping Trincalo is taken from Porta.

2204 *sink or swim*] Already an ancient proverbial expression, for an account of which see W. G. Smith and J. E. Heseltine, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Oxford, 1935), p. 393.

2224 *Plantane leafe*] Thought to be particularly good for curing bruises. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, I, ii, 52-54.

2225-32 *Thus haue I . . . haue him*] This speech is echoed in Baylie's *Wizard*, ed. de Vocht, ll. 235-38: "He is an excellent subject for an abusive witt to play on, and that J like him for; J should not loose one inch of pride by marrying him, which makes me use him to the word servant betimes, that it may not be a stranger to him hereafter." As de Vocht has shown (*Wizard*, p. 121), Baylie's debt to Tomkis rests on the fact that this passage has no source in the Italian.

ACT IV, SCENE xii

This scene has no counterpart in *Astrologo*.

The action occurs on the street before Antonio's house.

2241 *pitch*] In hawking, the height to which a falcon soars before swooping down on his prey.

2241 *stoope*] See note to l. 755.

2242 *shewfowle*] Reveal the lure.

2242 *the sute of cloathes*] The allusion is puzzling. Presumably the two schemers wish to dress the true Antonio in the garments of the feigned Antonio in order to facilitate the deception of Pandolfo. But since Lelio already has the false Antonio locked up in his house, there is no reason why Cricca should get the clothes or throw them over the garden wall of Lelio's property.

ACT IV, SCENE xiii

Like the preceding scene, this is original with Tomkis.

The action occurs on the street before Pandolfo's house.

2270 *farre-fet*] Far-fetched.

2279-80 *I'de . . . Nunnery*] An echo of Hamlet's advice to Ophelia?

2307 *next morning*] For a discussion of the unities, see pp. 15-16.

ACT V, SCENE i

Tomkis subjects Porta's play to a thorough revision in this Act. His changes are discussed in the Introduction, p. 13. This particular scene was suggested by *Astrologo*, V, iv, in which Albumazar is betrayed by his confederates; but the entire dialogue, including the device of quoting the astrologer's earlier speeches at him, is original with Tomkis.

The staging of this scene is debatable, but see Introduction, p. 63.

2345-53 *You . . . ware*] This is the sharpest satire of Tomkis' own writing in the play. As an expression of his own opinion, however, the passage is not sound evidence, for the emphasis falls upon Albumazar's knavery rather than upon his astrological pretensions, though, to be sure, the two go together.

ACT V, SCENE ii

Except for the opening soliloquy, ll. 2400-2407, this is a fairly close rendering of *Astrologo*, V, i. Tomkis gives local color by appropriate allusions to English things.

The action occurs on the street.

2411 *embost*] A hunting term for foaming at the mouth from exhaustion.

2416 *th'Exchange*] Cf. l. 1699 and note.

ACT V, SCENE iii

This scene was suggested by Pandolfo's soliloquy which closes *Astrologo*, V, i.

The action occurs on the street.

2449 *erect a figure*] This may refer to the common practice of casting a horoscope on the basis of the moment of conception rather than of birth, provided the moment of conception were known.

2450-51 *So . . . Intricate*] *Astrologo*, V, i, p. 375: "Ma ecco il vignarolo inguglielmato overo Guglielmo invignarolato."

ACT V, SCENE iv

Alternately a close and a free translation of *Astrologo*, V, ii, p. 375.

The scene was probably staged as in the courtyard of Antonio's house, though the exact locale is not stated.

ACT V, SCENE v

This scene is an expansion of one of Pandolfo's asides in *Astrologo*, V, ii, p. 375: "(O buon vignarolo, con che bel prologo ha cominciato! Sarà

maggior l'obbligo che avrò all'astrologo, che l'ha trasformato de volto, l'ha megliorato d'intelletto)."

The scene is the same as that of V, iv, presumably in the courtyard to Antonio's house.

2487 *Marriages . . . confirm'd*] Note that the bestowal of the bride and plighting troth constituted a marriage.

ACT V, SCENE vi

This is partly translated and partly adapted from *Astrologo*, V, ii, pp. 376-378. Specifically, ll. 2486-2515 are translated; ll. 2515-30 are original with Tomkiss; ll. 2530-55 are very free renderings of the Italian; and ll. 2555-68 return to translation.

The scene presumably remains in the courtyard of Antonio's house.

2548 *Westerne*] The first recorded use in its figurative sense of declining.

ACT V, SCENE vii

This was suggested by Pandolfo's concluding soliloquy in *Astrologo*, V, ii, pp. 378-379. The only direct translation is the accusation against the conspirators, ll. 2578-80, taken from *Astrologo*, V, ii, p. 379.

The action seems to occur on the street.

2586-87 *th'houres . . . cleane spent*] See Introduction, pp. 15-16.

ACT V, SCENE viii

This scene has no counterpart in *Astrologo*.

The action seems to occur on the street.

2594-95 *compounding*] Agreeing to terms of payment.

ACT V, SCENE ix

The action of this scene is taken from *Astrologo*, V, viii; but the dialogue is not translated directly.

The action occurs on the street.

2603 *case*] Clothes.

2605 *fulling*] The process of cleansing and thickening cloth by beating and washing. The appearance of the word here anticipates by almost three-quarters of a century the first recorded use (1688) in *NED*.

2606 *Tiff. toff*] The sound of beating; not thus onomatopoeically recorded in *Astrologo*, F. G. Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle*, II, 260, to the contrary.

2634 *morning*] For a discussion of the time element, see pp. 15-16.

ACT V, SCENE X

This scene is derived from *Astrologo*, V, v. Tomkis translates as closely as he can the comic misunderstanding of Pandolfo, who thinks Flavia, rather than his treasure, is about to be restored.

The action occurs on the street.

2729-33 *Reason . . . Flauia*] Pandolfo's reformation comes just as abruptly in *Astrologo*, V, v, p. 388.

ACT V, SCENE VLT.

This scene has no source in *Astrologo*.

The action occurs presumably on the street.

EPILOGUE

2752 *Cargo*] This has caused the commentators much trouble. Hazlitt's Dodsley, XI, 421, note 1, quotes Steevens and Pegge, who suggest either a corruption of Italian "corragio" (this is etymologically unsound) or a cant word meaning a round sum of money (no parallel is offered). In his *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* Hazlitt defines the word as "bully" or "bravo," but the substantive use does not apply here. The *NED* cites a use analogous to Tomkis' in Wilkins, *Miseries of an inforced Marriage*, in Hazlitt's Dodsley, XI, 533: "But cargo! my fiddlestick cannot play without rosin"—i.e., money.

Two possibilities have not been suggested. First is a somewhat similar cry used in East Anglia by boys in frightening birds, especially as in the rhyme: "Bird a bird, a wooh,/Here come the clappers,/To knock ye down back'ards,/Carwo! Carwoo-oh" (Wm. Rye, *A Glossary of Words Used in East Anglia* [English Dialect Society, 1895], p. 34). "Carwo," to be sure, is not "cargo," but the reference to clappers is suggestive, since Trincalo is leading up to a request for applause. In other words, this may be another of the many hunting terms in the play. But a second and far stronger possibility is the use of "cargo" as a shout of joy in preparation for revelry, for which see "A Statute for Swearers" (1624), *A Pepysian Garland*, ed. Hyder Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1922), p. 192, stanza 4: "You that cry, Kergo, boyes, hang vp all sorrowe; Drinke stiffe, our Landlord shall stay till to morrow."

The character of Cargo, the clown in *The Wonder of a Kingdom* (1636), in Th. Dekker, *Dramatic Works*, ed. Shepherd, IV, 242 ff., throws little light on the problem, though his drunkenness may be significant.

2752 *Hai*] This is Italian "hai" (you have it), a cry used by fencers when making a touch. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, II, iv, 28.

APPENDIX

MARGINALIA IN THE INGALL COPY OF Q2

ABOUT 1860 one Henry Ingall chanced upon a copy of Q2 containing marginal annotations in a seventeenth-century hand, which led him, as has already been discussed, to assign the play to Shakespeare. Though nothing in the marginalia indicates that they were written by the author, they do have interest because the volume has all the marks of being an early prompt copy. The annotator read the play carefully, corrected misprints, canceled some lines, inserted others, and jotted down various stage directions.

The volume has a late eighteenth-century binding, and one of the fly-leaves inserted by the binder has a watermark dated 1796. In trimming the leaves the binder cut off part of many of the notes, and some of the ink used has stained the paper badly, so that many of the readings are highly conjectural. Whenever a conjectural reading is possible, brackets will indicate letters or syllables or words supplied by the editor. The line numbering is that of the present text.

35-36] Ron[ca] with hi[s peece] and Ba[ndeleers]. *See note to marginalia ll. 233-39.*

103-8] [Enter Fu]rbo [with his l]ute [in his ha]nde, [and to y]e [compan]y [he sing]s [as he] plu[ckes his] instrument.

Highly conjectural but defensible by reference to the text (Furbo plays and sings shortly hereafter) and by comparison with frequently repeated annotations later.

141] Exit Al[bumazar].

172-76] [Pandolf]o [throw]s ye [sticke a]way.

195] Exit Cricca.

233-39] Ronca layeth away his peece, and Bandeleers. *Another note on this passage has been cut by the binder.*

276-77] sett away [per]spicill, and take the asses ea[rs].

281] *In a later hand, this doth is expanded to:* the other doth.

292] Playe mu[sic].

295] musique againe, and singe[ing].

352] Exit Ronca.

357-62] with his Ephem[eris] Enter Alb[umazar] and Ronca with Albumazars st[ick] in his hande.

383] *The speech-tag Ro. is crossed out so that the whole speech is given to Albumazar.*

385] *The speech-tag Alb. is canceled.*

394-96] *Left of text:* Ronca. *Right of text:* Exit Ronca, and giues Albumazar his sticke.

454] Enter Har[pax and] Furbo.

463-64] [Exi]t [Harpa]x [and] Furbo.

475] Softly, ô softly *is underscored and glossed:* [He li]eth [still and] feeleth wound. [He li]eth still.

476] Stand vp *is underscored and glossed:* Lye still. feele. Lie still.

482-84] [Cr]icca [stands u]p [as be]fore.

527] Cricca fetches him his staffe.

528] Pandolfo sha[kes as if] hee had the pal[sy].

552] Exit Albumazar.

585] *Smudged numerals, the significance of which escapes me.*

594-95] Now are my floud-gates drawne, and I'le surround her *is underscored and glossed:* speake to the company. Trin[calo takes] off hi[s cap] and h[e holds it in] his h[and].

608-11] hee giues her his basket . . . (*the rest illegible*).

620] Exit Armelina.

628] [He walks toward] Pan[dolfo] with [his baske]t in his [hands].

648] Stay, Sir *is underscored and glossed:* Pause there a while.

655] there's your Lease *is underscored and glossed:* [He] keepes [it s]till in [his hand].

699] *Illegible gloss.*

757] Tri. Now do I feele the calfe *is underscored and glossed:* Trincalo spea[ks to ye] company.

760] Ron. Ne're were those Authors *is underscored and glossed:* Ronca speake[s to ye] company.

768] Ronca speake[s to ye] company.

789] Dicotima *is corrected to:* Dictimia.

791] What townes are these *is underscored and glossed:* [Trincalo spe]akes [to ye com]pany.

808] With virgins aprons *is underscored and glossed:* [Trincalo to ye compa]ny.

809] So, there's shirts *is underscored and glossed:* [Ronca spe]akes [to ye com]pany.

820] Ronca speakes to the co[mpany].

827] still to [the company].

839] to y^e com[pany]. *A second and later hand has canceled this and rewritten:* to y^e Company.

850] To furnish out our banquet *is underscored and glossed in both hands:* to y^e Company.

860-62] Exeunt Pandolfo, et Albumazar, et Ronca.

- 886] Cri. What in such serious meditations *is underscored and glossed*:
[Cricca comes] to [him and] claps [him on the b]acke.
- 892] Fare-well *is underscored and glossed*: Cricca offers to go away.
- 896] Offers again [to be] gone.
- 898-99] Trin[calo tries to] holde [him].
- 922-23] Enter Album[azar and] Pandolfo.
- 925] Cricca.
- 927] Cricca *is canceled and the name Trincalo is inserted*.
- 947] *In the second and later hand*: enters y^m in his po: B: (i.e., *in his pocket Book*).
- 957] Exit Albumazar.
- 972] Exeunt Pand[olfo (*cancellation*) and] Trin[calo].
- 993-95] *These lines are underscored and glossed*: an Interrogation.
- 1035] [Enter L]elio.
- 1041-44] [She] com[es to th]e win[dow as] he [speaks].
- 1054] Flavia weepe[s].
- 1055] But now *is underscored and glossed*: shee weepes.
- 1089] Exit Eugenio.
- 1132-35] Fla[via] wee[ps and] sig[hs].
- 1201 Enter Album[azar].
- 1207] Exit Pan[dolfo].
- 1216] En[ter P]a[ndolfo]. *The page is badly cut into*.
- 1221] This well begunne *is underscored and glossed*: Cricca speakes
to [the company].
- 1225] Hee nowe speakes to P[andolfo].
- 1230] Hee spe[aks to Pan]dolfo.
- 1274] Pan[dolfo to] Cric.
- 1303] Exit Albumazar.
- 1351] Ron. Iust Æsops crow *is underscored and glossed*: [He sp]eaks
[to the com]pany.
- 1363] Ron. How his *is underscored and glossed*: Ronca s[peaks] to the
com[pany].
- 1373] Ron. Hee'l grow *is underscored and glossed*: Hee speaks still to
the company.
- 1411] *Exit*. Exit Ronca.
- 1437] Give him [paper] and lett Tr[incalo] rea[d].
- 1445] Exit Harpax.
- 1461] My deere Antonio *is underscored and glossed*: Ronca embra[ces
him].
- 1467] Here's none behinde me *is underscored and glossed*: Trincalo
lookes behind him.

1471] Yes, dearest Ronca *is underscored and glossed*: Trincalo feels for [his purse] and misseth it.

1486-90] *Illegible, but probably the instruction for Ronca to disappear momentarily with Trincalo's purse.*

1494] [Ro]nca.

1502] Exit Ronca.

1509-10] Sing . . . melancholy *is underscored, and an alternate line is inserted at the bottom of the page*: Lett mee heare those dolefull verses w^{ch} thou madst for mee, to lament his death: O Antonio.

1512-18] Furbo: Howe li[ke you this] dish, madame, tis enough. Bevi: But looke good Fu[rbo] reioyce with mee. hee [comes].

1521] Exit Furbo.

1557-58] sing't to this. *Alcoch Dolash, &c is canceled and replaced by*: rehearse it vnto you.

1578] Exit Bevilona.

1581] Exit Trincalo.

1584-89] *In the earlier hand*: [Ronca] spea[ks as] he [looks] above. *In the later hand*: he nocks.

1608] Hogshead *is underscored and replaced by*: vessell.

1613] Who now *is corrected to*: How now. Enter B[evilona].

1617] hogshead *is circled and replaced by*: vessell.

1622] They lifte vp th[e cask] vpon the stage.

1625] Hogshead *is underscored and replaced by*: vessell.

1628] Put in water into y^e ve[ssel and] shake [it].

1640-41] [Trincal]o com[es out o]f the [cask].

1661] [Exit] Be[vilona]. Ronc. Ronc. *may be inserted as a speech-tag, for the lines might as well be his as Trincalo's.*

1664] Exeunt.

1677] Enter Cricca.

1681] Cricca speakes to the company.

1686] So doeth Antonio.

1688] Still to the compa[ny].

1706] nowe Cricca speake[s to the] com[pany].

1712] (*cancellation*) speaks to the compa[ny]. *The word speaks is in the second hand; the cancellation might have been nowe.*

1732] Gra[sps Anto]nio.

1757] To the Com[pany].

1760] Cri[cca] to [the company].

1780] to the company.

1811] *A cancellation of a stage direction which was almost certainly*: Enter Armellina.

1812] Do't when 'has seru'd your turne *is underscored and glossed*:
[F]lavia [and Armel]lina [at the w]indowe.

1816] Exeunt Pandolfo et Cricca.

1823-29] [Flavia] and [Armellin]a at [the wind]owe, [Ant]onio [on the] stage.

1830] *In the second hand*: he knocks.

1854] Armelina cast[s water on] Ant[onio].

1891] [Le]lio.

1894] [L]elio. Lelio.

1898] [Exit A]nto[nio]. Exit Antonio.

1903] hogshead *is underscored and replaced by*: vessell.

1907] *The speech-tag* Bevilona *is correctly inserted after* tendernesse.

1912] hogshead *is underscored and replaced by*: vessell. *Also the correct speech-tag* Trincalo *is inserted before* Pretty soule.

1913-21] Heere Trincalo must pause till Bevilona bee gonne out.

1921] Enter A[lbumazar].

1927] *In the second hand*: he knocks.

1929] *In the second hand*: he knocks again.

1985] Trincalo draw[s] his weapon.

1990] Antonio dra[ws] his weapon.

2003] Enter L[elio and] Cricca.

2040] Notorious clowne *is underscored and glossed*: then strikes him.

2057] Exit Trincalo.

2120] Then will I home *is underscored and glossed*: Enter Trincalo.
[Enter] Trin[calo].

2145] I will sir *is underscored and glossed*: Exit Lelio.

2173] Armelina weeps. Weeps *is in the second hand*.

2203] Armelina fetcheth a glas.

2204] *Illegible*.

2209] Flatte nose againe, &c. *is canceled and replaced by*: nose on still.

2221] Trincalo falls int[o the] cellar.

2235] I will, sir *is underscored and glossed*: Exit Armeli[na].

2245] *The incorrect speech-tag* Le. *is canceled and replaced by*: Cricca.
Exit Cricca.

2310] Exit Sulpitia.

2315] *In the second hand*: Exit Lelio.

2396] Exit Albumazar.

2438] Exit Cricca.

2478] Pandolfo *is inserted before* 'Tis.

2482] Enter Euge[nio:] Flavia: S[ulpitia].

2568] Exeunt omnes praeter Pandolfo.

2587] Exit Pandol:

2603] cōmes beats. *Reference not clear.*

2671] Exit Trincalo.

2739] Exit Pandolfo.

2749] Come in *is underscored and glossed*: Exit Cricca. [Exit Cr]icca.

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